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DÆMONOLOGIE,  
IN FORME  
OF A DIA-  
LOGVE,

*James I. King of Great Britain and  
Divided into three books: Ireland.*

WRITTEN BY THE HIGH  
and mightie Prince, JAMES by the  
grace of God King of England,  
Scotland, France and Ireland,  
Defender of the Faith, &c.

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# THE PREFACE

## TO THE READER.

**H**e feareful abounding at this time in this countrie, of these detestable slaues of the diuell, the Witches or enchaunters, hath moued me (beloued reader) to dispatch in post, this following Treatise of mine, not in any wise (as I protest) to serue for a shewe of my learning and ingine, but onely (moued of conscience) to preasse thereby, so farre as I can, to resolute the doubting hearts of manie; both that such assaults of Sathan are most certainly practised, and that the instruments thereof, merits most seuerely to be punished: against the damnable opinions of two principally in our age,

A 2

whereof

## TO THE READER.

whereof the one called Scot, an Englishman, is not ashamed in publike print to denie, that there can be such a thing as Witch-craft: and so maintaines the old errour of the Sadduces in denying of spirits. The other called Wie-  
rus, a German Physition, sets out a publike apologie for all these crafts-folkes, whereby, procuring for their impunitie, he plainly bewrayes himselfe to haue beene one of that profession. And for to make this Treatise the more pleasant & facill, I haue put it in forme of a Dialogue, which I haue diuided into three bookes: The first speaking of Magie in generall, and Necromancie in speciall. The second, of Sorcerie and Witch-craft: and the third containes a discourse of al these kinds of spirits, and Spectres that appeares and troubles persons: together with a conclusion of the whole worke. My intention in this labour, is onely to proue two things, as I haue already said: the one, that such diuelish  
artes



## TO THE READER.

artes haue beene and are. The other, what exact triall and seuerer punishment they merit: and therefore reason I, What kind of things are possible to bee performed in these Arts, and by what naturall causes they may be, not that I touch euerie particular thing of the Diuels power, for that were infinite: but onely, to speake scholastickly, (since this cannot be spoken in our language) I reason upon genus, leauing species and differentia to be comprehended therein. As for example, speaking of the power of Magiciens, in the first booke and sixt chapter: I say, that they can suddenly cause be brought unto them, all kinds of dainty dishes, by their familiar spirit: since as a thiefe he delights to steale, & as a spirit he can subtilly and sodainly enough transport the same. Now under this genus, may be comprehended all particulars, depending therupon; such as the bringing wine out of a wall (as we haue heard oft to haue beene practised)

## TO THE READER.

practised) & such others; which particulars, are sufficiently prooued by the reasons of the general. And such like in the second booke of Witchcraft in special, and fift Chap. I say, & proue by diuers arguments, that Witches can by the power of their Maister, cure or cast on diseases: Now by these same reasons, that proues their power by the Diuell of diseases in generall, is as well proued their power in speciall: as of weakning the nature of some men, to make them unable for women: and making it to abound in others, more then the ordinarie course of nature would permit. And such like in all other particular sicknesses. But one thing I will pray thee to obserue in all these places, where I reason vpon the deuils power, which is the different ends and scopes, that God as the first cause, and the Diuell as his instrument & second cause, shoots at in all these actions of the Diuell, (as Gods hang-man:) For where the diuels intention in them is euer



## TO THE READER.

to perish, either the soule or the bodie, or both of them, that he is so permitted to deale with: God by the contrarie, drawes euer out of that euill glory to himselfe, either by the wracke of the wicked in his iustice, or by the triall of the patient, and amendment of the faithfull, being wakened vp with that rod of correction. Hauing thus declared vnto thee then, my full intention in this Treatise, thou wilt easily excuse, I doubt not, aswell my pretermitting, to declare the whole particular rites and secrets of these vnlawful arts: as also their infinit and wonderfull practises, as being neither of them pertinent to my purpose: the reason whereof, is given in the hinder end of the first Chapter of the third booke: and who likes to be curious in these things, he may reade, if he will, here of their practises, Bodinus Dæmonomanie, collected with greater diligence, then written with iudgement, together with their confessions, that haue beene at this time apprehended.

## TO THE READER.

prehended. If he would know what hath been the opinion of the Auncients, concerning their power: hee shall see it well described by Hyperius & Hemmingius, two late Germane Writers: Besides innumerable other neotericke Theologues, that writes largelie upon that subject: And if he would know what are the particular rites, & curiosities of these blacke Arts (which is both unnecessarie and perillous) he will find it in the fourth Booke of Cornelius Agrippa, and in VVierus whom of I spake. And so wishing my paines in this Treatise (beloued Reader) to be effectuell, in arming all them that reads the same, against these aboue mentioned errors, and recommending my good will to thy friendly acceptation, I bidde thee heartily fare-well.

JAMES R.





DÆMONOLOGIE,  
IN FORME  
OF ANEDIA-  
LOGVE.

FIRST BOOKE.

ARGUMENT.

The exord of the whole. The description  
of Magie in speciall.

CHAP. I. ARGUMENT.

*Prouen by the Scripture, that these unlawfull arts in  
genere, haue beene and may be put in practise.*

PHILOMATHES and EPISTEMON  
reason the matter.

PHILOMATHES.



Am surely very glad to haue  
met with you this day, for I  
am of opiniō, that ye can bet-  
ter resolue me of some thing,  
wherof I stand in great doubt,  
nor any other whom-with I  
could haue met.

B

EPI.

## 2 *Dæmonologie. First Booke.*

EPI. In what I can, that ye like to speir at me, I will willingly and freely tell my opinion, and if I proue it not sufficiently, I am heartily content that a better reason carie it away then.

PHI. What thinke ye of these strange newes, which now onely furnishes purpose to all men at their meeting: I meane of these Witches?

EPI. Surely they are wonderfull: And I thinke so cleare and plaine confessions in that purpose, haue neuer fallen out in any age or countrey.

PHI. No question if they be true, but thereof the Doctours doubts.

EPI. What part of it doubt ye of?

PHI. Euen of all, for ought I can yet perceiue: and namely, that there is such a thing as Witchcraft or Witches, and I would pray you to resolute me thereof if ye may: for I haue reasoned with sundrie in that matter, and yet could neuer be satisfied therein.

EPI. I shall with good will doe the best I can: But I thinke it the difficiller, since ye denie the thing it selfe in generall: for as it is said in the Logicke schooles, *Contra negantem principia non est disputandum*. Alwayes for that part, that Witchcraft and Witches haue beene, and are; the former part is clearely proued by the Scriptures, and the last by dayly experience and confessions.

PHI. I know ye will alleage me *Sauls Pythonisse*: but that as appeares will not make much for you.

EPI. Not only that place, but diuers others: But I maruell why that should not make much for me?

PHI.



## *Demonologie. First Booke.* 3

P<sup>H</sup>I. The reasons are these, first yee may consider, that *Saul* being troubled in spirit, and hauing fasted long before, as the text testifieth, and being come to a woman that was bruted to haue such knowledge, and that to enquire so important newes, hee hauing so guiltie a conscience for his hainous offences, and specially, for that same vnlawfull curiositie, and horrible defection: and then the woman crying out vpon the suddaine in great admiration, for the vncouth sight that she alledged to haue seene discovering him to bee the King, though disguised, and denied by him before: it was no woonder I say, that his senses being thus distracted, he could not perceane her faining of her voice, he being himselfe in an other chalmer, and seeing nothing. Next what could be, or was raised? The spirit of *Samuel*? Prophane and against all Theologie. The diuel in his likenes? as vnappeirant, that either God would permit him to come in the shape of his Saints (for then could neuer the Prophets in those daies haue beene sure, what spirit spake to them in their visions) or then that he could fore-tell what was to come thereafter; for Prophecie proceedeth onely of God: and the deuill hath no knowledge of things to come.

E<sup>P</sup>I. Yet if yee will marke the wordes of the text, yee will finde clearelie, that *Saul* saw that apparition: for giuing you that *Saul* was in an other Chalmer, at the making of the circles and coniurations, needfull for that purpose (as none of that craft will permit any others to behold at that time)

## 4 *Dæmonologie. First Booke.*

yet it is euident by the text, that how sone that once that vncleane spirit was fully risen, she called in vpon *Saule*. For it is saide in the text, that *Saule knew him to be Samuel*, which could not haue beene, by the hearing tell onelie of an olde man with ane mantill, since there was manie mo old men dead in *Israel* nor *Samuel*: And the common weid of that whole countrey was mantils. As to the next, that it was not the spirit of *Samuel*, I grant: In the prouing whereof yee need not to insift, since all Christians of whatsoeuer religion agrees vpon that: and none but either mere ignorants, or Necromancers or Witches doubteth thereof. And that the diuel is permitted at sometimes to put himselfe in the likenes of the saints, it is plaine in the scriptures, where 2. Cor. II. 14. it is said, that *Sathan can trans-forme himselfe into an Angell of light*. Neither could that bring any inconuenient with the visions of the prophets, since it is most certaine, that God will not permit him so to deceiue his owne: but onely such, as first wilfully deceiues themselves, by running vnto him, whom God then suffers to fall in their owne snares, and iustlie permittes them to be illuded with great efficacie of deceit, because they would not beleue the trueth (as *Paul* saith.) And as to the diuels foretelling of things to come, it is true that he knowes not all things future; but yet that he knowes parte, the Tragicall event of this historie declares it, (which the wit of woman could neuer haue fore-spoken) not that he hath any prescience, which is only proper to God: or yet knows anie thing by looking vpon

on



## Dæmonologie. First Booke. 5

on God, as in a mirrour (as the good Angels do) he being for ever debarred from the fauorable presence and countenance of his creator, but onely by one of these two meanes, either as being worldly wise, and taught by a continuall experience, euer since the creation, iudges by likeli-hood of things to come, according to the like that hath passed before, and the naturall causes, in respect of the vicissitude of al things worldly: Or else by Gods employing of him in a turne, and so foreseene thereof: as appears to haue bin in this, whereof we finde the very like in *Micheas* prophetique discourse to king *Ahab*. 1. King. 22. But to prooue this my first proposition, that there can be such a thing as witch-craft, & witches, there are manie mo places in the Scriptures then this (as I said before). As first in the law of God, it is plainly prohibited: But certaine it is, that the Law Exod. 22. of God speaks nothing in vaine, neither doth it lay curses, or inioine punishments vpon shaddowes, condemning that to be ill, which is not in essence or being as we call it. Secondly it is plaine, where wicked *Pharaohs* wise-men imitated a number of *Moses* miracles, to harden the tyrants heart thereby. Thirdly, said not *Samuel* to *Saule*, that disobedience is as the sin of Witch-craft? Exod. 7. & 8.  
1. Sam. 15. To compare it to a thing that were not, it were too too absurd. Fourthlie, was not *Simon Magus*, a man of that craft? A. A. 8. And A. A. 16. fifthlie, what was she that had the spirit of *Python*? beside innumerable other places that were irksom to recite.

## 6 Dæmonologie. First Booke.

### CHAP. II. ARGV.

*What kind of sin the practizers of these unlawful artes committes. The diuision of these artes. And what are the meanes that allures any to practize them.*

#### PHILOMATHES.

**B**UT I thinke it very strange, that God should permit anie man-kinde ( since they beare his owne Image ) to fall in so grosse and filthie a defection.

Gen. I.

**EPI.** Although man in his Creation was made to the image of the Creator, yet through his fall hauing once lost it, it is but restored againe in a part by grace onely to the elect: So all the rest falling away from God, are giuen ouer to the handes of the Deuill that enemy, to beare his Image; and being once so giuen ouer, the greatest and the grossest impietic, is the pleasantest, and most delitefull vnto them.

**PHI.** But may it not suffice him to haue indirectly the rule, and procure the perdition of so manie soules by alluring them to vices, and to the following of their owne appetites, suppose he abuse not so many simple soules, in making them directly acknowledge him for their master?

**EPI.** No surelie, for hee vses euerie man, whom of he hath the rule, according to their complexion and knowledge: And so, whom he findes most simple, he plaineliest discovers himselfe vnto them. For hee being the enimie of mans saluation, vses all the meanes he can to intrappe them so farre



## *Demonologie. First Booke.* 7

far in his snares, as it may be vnable to them thereafter (suppose they would) to rid themselves out of the same.

PHI. Then this sinne is a sinne against the holy Ghost.

EPI. It is in some, but not in all.

PHI. How that? Are not all these that runnes directly to the diuell, in one Categorie?

EPI. God forbid, for the sinne against the holy Ghost hath two branches: The one a falling backe from the whole seruice of God, and a refusall of all his precepts. The other is the doing of the first with knowledge, knowing that they doe wrong against their owne conscience, and the testimonie of the holy Spirit, hauing once had a taste of the sweetnes of Gods mercies. Now in the first of these two, all sorts of Necromancers, Enchaunters or Witches, are comprehended: but in the last, none but such as erres with this knowledge that I haue spoken of.

PHI. Then it appeares that there are more sorts nor one, that are directly professours of his seruice: and if so be, I pray you tell me how many, and what are they?

EPI. There are principally two sorts, whereunto all the parts of that vnhappy Arte are redacted; whereof the one is called *Magie* or *Necromancie*, the other *Sorcerie* or *Witch-craft*.

PHI. What I pray you? and how many are the meanes, whereby the Diuell allures persons in any of these snares?

EPI.

## 8 *Dæmonologie. First Booke.*

**EPI.** Euen by these three passions that are within our selues; Curiofitie in great ingines; thirst of reuenge, for some tortes deeply apprehended: or greedie appetite of geare, caused through great povertie. As to the first of these, Curiofitie, it is only the inticement of *Magiciens* or *Necromancers*: and the other two are the allurers of the *Sorcerers* or *Witches*; for that old and craftie serpent being a Spirit, he easilie spies our affections, and so conformes himselfe thereto, to deceiue vs to our wracke.

### CHAP. III. ARGV.

*The significations and etymologies of the words of Magic & Necromancie. The difference betwixt Necromancie and Witch-craft: What are the entresses and beginnings, that brings any to the knowledge thereof.*

#### PHILOMATHES.

**I** Would gladly first heare, what thing is it that we call *Magic* or *Necromancie*.

**EPI.** This word *Magi* in the Persian tongue, imports as much as to be ane contemplator or interpreter of diuine and heauenly sciences: which being first vsed amongs the *Chaldees*, through their ignorance of the true diuinitie, was esteemed and reputed amongst them, as a principall vertue: And therefore, was named vniustly with an honourable stile; which name the *Greeks* imitated, generally importing all these kindes of vnlawfull artes.  
And



## Dæmonologie. First Booke. 9

And this word *Necromancie* is a Greeke word, compounded of *Néκρ* & *μαντεία* which is to say, the prophecie by the dead. This last name is giuen, to this blacke & vnlawfull science by the figure *Synedoeche*, because it is a principall part of that art, to serue themselves with dead carcages in their diuinations.

PHI. What difference is there betwixt this arte, and Witch-craft?

EPI. Surely, the difference vulgare put betwixt them, is verrey merry, and in a manner true; for they say, that the Witches are seruants onely, and slaues to the Diuell; but the Necromanciers are his Maisters and commanders.

PHI. How can that be true, that any men being specially addicted to his seruice, can be his cōmanders?

EPI. Yea they may be: but it is onely *secundum quid*: For it is not by any power that they can haue ouer him, but *ex pacto* allanerlie: whereby he obliges himselfe in some trifles to them, that he may on the other part obtaine the fruition of their body & soule, which is the only thing he hunteth for.

PHI. An very in-æquitable contract forsooth: But I pray you discourse vnto me, what is the effect and secrets of that arte?

EPI. That is ouer large ane field yee giue mee: yet I shall doe good-will, the most summarly that I can, to runne through the principall points thereof. As there are two sorts of folkes, that may be entised to this art, to wit, learned or vnlearned: so is there two meanes, which are the first steerers vp & feeders of their curiosity, thereby to make them

10 *Demonologie. First Booke.*

to giue themselves ouer to the same: Which two meanes, I call the Diuels schoole, and his rudiments. The learned haue their curiositie wakened vp; and fedde by that which I call his schoole: this is the *Astrologie* iudiciar. For diuers men ha- uing attained to a great perfection in learning, and yet remaining ouer-bare (alas) of the Spirit of re- generation and fruits thereof: finding all naturall things common, aswell to the stupide pedants as vnto them, they assay to vendicate vnto them a greater name, by not onely knowing the course of things heauenly, but likewise to clim to the know- ledge of things to come therby. Which, at the first face appearing lawfull vnto them, in respect the gronnd thereof seemeth to proceed of natural cau- ses onely: they are so allured thereby, that finding their practise to proue true in sundrie things, they studie to know the cause thereof: and so mounting from degree to degree, vpon the slipperie and vn- certaine scale of curiositie; they are at last entised, that where lawfull artes or sciences failes, to satisfie their restless minds, euen to seeke to that blacke and vnlawfull science of *Magie*. Where, finding at the first, that such diuers formes of circles and con- jurations rightly ioined thereunto, will raise such diuers formes of spirits, to resoluethem of their doubts: and attributing the doing thereof, to the power inseparably tied, or inherent in the circles: and many words of God, confusedly wrapped in; they blindly glorie of themselves, as if they had by their quicknes of ingine, made a cōquest of *Plutoes* domi-



## *Dæmonologie. First Booke.* 11

dominion, and were become Emperours over the *Stygian* habitacles. Where, in the meane time (miserable wretches) they are become in verie deede, bond slaues to their mortall enemy: and their knowledge, for all that they presume thereof, is nothing increased, except in knowing euill, and the horrors of Hell for punishment thereof, as *Adams* was by the eating of the forbidden tree.

### CHAP. IIII. ARGV.

*The Description of the Rudiments and Schoole, which are the entresses of the arte of Magic: And in speciall the differences betwixt Astronomie & Astrologie: Diuision of Astrologie in diuers parts.*

#### PHILOMATHES.

**B**Vt I pray you likewise forget not to tell what are the deuils rudiments.

**EPI.** His rudiments, I call first in generall, all that which is called vulgarly the vertue of worde, herbe, & stone: which is vsed by vnlawfull charmes, without naturall causes. As likewise all kinde of practiques, freites, or other like extraordinarie actions, which cannot abide the true touch of naturall reason.

**PHI.** I would haue you to make that plainer, by some particular examples; for your proposition is very generall.

**EPI.** I meane either by such kinde of charmes as commonlie dafte wiues vses, for healing of forspoken goodes, for preserving them from euill

## 12 *Dæmonologie. First Booke*

eies, by knitting roun trees, or sundriest kinde of hearbes, to the haire or tailes of the goods : by curing the worrne, by stemming of blood, by healing of Hors-crookes, by turning of the riddle, or doing of such like innumerable things by words, without applying any thing meete to the part offended, as Mediciners doe : Or else by staying married folkes, to haue naturally adoe with other (by knitting so many knottes vpon a point at the time of their mariage) And such-like things, which men vse to practise in their merrinesse : For fra vnlearned men (being naturally curious, and lacking the true knowledge of God) finde these practises to proue true, as sundry of them will do, by the power of the diuell for deceiuing men, and not by any inherent vertue in these vaine words and freites; and being desirous to winne a reputation to themselves in such-like turnes, they either (if they be of the shamefaster sort) seeke to be learned by some that are experimented in that Arte (not knowing it to be euill at the first) or else being of the grosser sort, runnes directly to the diuell for ambition or desire of gaine, and plainly contracts with him thereupon.

PHI. But me thinks these meanes which yee call the Schoole and rudiments of the Diuell, are things lawfull, and haue beene approoued for such in all times and ages : as in speciall, this science of *Astrologie*, which is one of the speciall members of the *Mathematicques*.

EPI. There are two things which the learned haue



## *Dæmonologie. First Booke.* 13

haue obserued from the beginning, in the science of the Heauenly creatures, the Planets, Starres, and such like: The one is their course and ordinary motions, which for that cause is called *Astronomia*. Which word is a compound of  $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron$  and  $\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\omega\nu$ , that is to say, the law of the Starres: And this Arte indeede is one of the members of the *Mathematicques*, and not onely lawfull, but most necessary & commendable. The other is called *Astrologia*, being compounded of  $\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\omega\nu$  &  $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron$ , which is to say, the word and preaching of the starres: Which is diuided in two partes: The first, by knowing thereby the powers of simples, and sicknesses, the course of the seasons and the weather, being ruled by their influence: which part depending vpon the former, although it be not of it selfe a part of *Mathematicques*; yet it is not vnlawfull, being moderately vsed, suppose not so necessary and commendable as the former. The second part is to trust so much to their influences, as thereby to fore-tell what common-weales shall flourish or decay: what persons shall be fortunate or vnfortunate: what side shall winne in any battell: what man shall obtaine victory at singular combate: what way, and of what age shall men die: what horse shall winne at match-running; and diuerse such like incredible things, wherein *Cardanius*, *Cornelius Agrippa*, and diuers others haue more curiously then profitablie written at large. Of this roote last spoken of, springs innumerable branches; such as the knowledge by the natiuities; the *Cheironomie*,

## 14 *Dæmonologie. First Booke.*

*Geomantie, Hydromantie, Arithmantie, Physiognomie:*  
& a thousand others : which were much practised,  
& holden in great reuerence by the *Gentiles* of old.  
And this last part of *Astrologie* whereof I haue spoken, which is the root of their branches, was called by them *pars fortuna*. This part now is vtterly vnlawful to be trusted in, or practized amongst christians, as leaning to no ground of naturall reason: & it is this part which I called before the deuils schoole.

PHI. But yet many of the learned are of the contrary opinion.

EPI. I grant, yet I could giue my reasons to fortify & maintaine my opinion, if to enter into this disputation it wold not draw me quite off the ground of our discourse ; besides the mis-pending of the whole day thereupon : One word onely I will answer to them, & that in the Scriptures (which must be an infallible ground to all true Christians) That in the Prophet *Jeremie* it is plainly fobidden, to belecue or harken vnto them that Prophecies and fore-speaks by the course of the Planets & Starres.

Jerem. 10.

### CHAP. V. ARGV.

*How far the vsing of Charmes is lawfull or vnlawfull.  
The description of the formes of Circles and coniurations.  
And what causeth the Magicians themselves to weary thereof.*

### PHILOMATHES.

WEL, Ye haue said far enough in that argument. But how prooue ye now that these  
charmcs



charmes or vnnaturall practiques are vnlawfull: For so many honest and merry men and women haue publickly practised some of them, that I think if ye would accuse them all of witch-craft, ye would affirme more nor ye will be beleued in.

EPI. I see if you had taken good tent (to the nature of that word, whereby I named it) ye would not haue beene in this doubt, nor mistaken me, so farre as ye haue done: For although, as none can be scholars in a schoole, & not be subiect to the master thereof: so none can studie and put in practize (for the study alone, and knowledge, is not perilous nor offensiue; and it is the practise onely that makes the greatnesse of the offence) the cirkles and art of *Magie*, without committing an horrible defection from God: And yet as they that reades and learns their rudiments, are not the more subiect to any schoole-master, if it please not their parents to put them to the schoole thereafter; So they who ignorantly proues these practiques, which I cal the diuels rudiments, vnknowing them to be baits, casten out by him, for trapping such as God will permit to fall into his hands: This kinde of folks I say, no doubt, are to be iudged the best of, in respect they vse no inuocation nor helpe of him (by their knowledge at least) in these turnes, & so haue neuer entred theselues into Sathans seruice; Yet to speake truly for mine owne part (I speake but for my selfe) I desire not to make so neere riding: For in my opinion our enemy is ouer craftie, and we ouer weake (except the greater grace of God) to assay such hazards, wherein he preases to trap vs.

## 16 *Dæmonologie. First Booke.*

PHI. Ye haue reason forsooth; for as the common Prouerbe saith : They that suppe keile with the Deuill, haue neede of long spoones. But now I pray you goe forward in the describing of this arte of *Magie*.

EPI. Fra they bee come once vnto this perfection in euill, in hauing any knowledge (whether learned or vnlearned) of this blacke art : they then beginne to be weary of the raising of their Maister, by coniured circkles; being both so difficile and perillous, and so commeth plainely to a contract with him, wherein is specially contained formes and effectes.

PHI. But I pray you or euer you goe further, discourse me some-what of their circkles and coniurations ; And what should be the cause of their wearying thereof : For it should seeme that that forme should be lesse fearefull yet, than the direct haunting and societie, with that foule and vncleane Spirite.

EPI. I thinke ye take me to be a Witch my selfe, or at the least would faine sweare your selfe prentise to that craft : Alwaies as I may, I shall shortly satisfy you, in that kinde of coniurations, which are contained in such bookes, which I call the *Deuilles Schoole* : There are foure principall parts; the persons of the coniurers; the action of the coniuration ; the wordes and rites vsed to that effect; and the Spirites that are coniured. Ye must first remember to laie the ground, that I tould you before : which is, that it is no power inherent in the  
cir-



circles, or in the holines of the names of God blasphemously vsed : nor in whatsoeuer rites or ceremonies at that time vsed, that either can raise any infernall spirit, or yet limitat him perforce within or without these circles. For it is he onely, the father of all lies, who hauing first of all prescribed that forme of doing, feining himselfe to be commanded & restrained thereby, will be loth to passe the boundes of these injunctiones; aswell thereby to make them glory in the inspiring ouer him (as I said before : ) As likewise to make himselfe so to be trusted in these little thinges, that he may haue the better commoditie thereafter, to deceiue them in the end with a tricke once for all; I meane the euerlasting perdition of their soul & body. Then lay this ground, as I haue said, these conjurationes must haue few or mo in number of the persones conjurers (alwaies passing the singuler number) according to the quality of the circle, and forme of apparition. Two principall things cannot well in that errand be wanted : holy-water ( whereby the Diuill mockes the *Papists* ) and some present of a living thing vnto him. There are likewise certaine seasons, daies and houres, that they obserue in this purpose : These things being all ready, and prepared, circles are made triangular, quadrangular, round, double or single, according to the forme of apparition that they craue. But to speake of the diuerse formes of the circles, of the innumerable characters and crosses that are within and without, and out-through the same, of the diuers formes of

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## 18 *Dæmonologie. First Booke.*

apparitions, that that craftie spirit illudes them with, and of all such particulars in that action, I remit it to ouer-many that haue busied their heads in describing of the same; as being but curious, and altogether vnprofitable. And this farre onely I touch, that when the conjured Spirit appeares, which will not be while after many circumstances, long prayers, and much muttring and murmuring of the conjurers; like a *Papist* priest, dispatching a hunting *Masse*: how soone I say, he appeares, if they haue missed one iote of all their rites; or if any of their feete once slyd ouer the circle through terror of his fearefull apparition, he paies himselfe at that time in his owne hand, of that due debt which they they ought him; and other-wise would haue delaied longer to haue paied him: I meane hee carries them with him body and soule. If this be not now a iust cause to make them weary of these formes of coniuration, I leaue it to you to judge vpon; considering the long-somenesse of the labour, the precise keeping of daies and houres (as I haue said) the terriblenesse of apparition, and the present perill that they stand in, in missing the least circumstance or freite, that they ought to obserue: And on the other part, the Deuill is glad to mooue them to a plaine and square dealing with him as I said before.

CHAP.



# Dæmonologie. First Booke. 19

CHAP. VI. ARGV.

*The Devilles contract with the Magicians: The division thereof in two parts: What is the difference betwixt Gods miracles and the Devils.*

PHILOMATHES.

**I**Ndeed there is cause inough, but rather to leaue him at all, then to runne more plainely to him, if they were wise he dealt with. But goe forward now I pray you to these turnes, fra they become once deacons in this craft.

**EPI.** From time that they once plainely begin to contract with him: The effect of their contract consistes in two things, in formes and effectes, as I began to tell already, were it not ye interrupted me (for although the contract be mutuall; I speake first of that part, wherein the Devill oblishes himselfe to them) by formes, I meane in what shape or fashion he shall come vnto them, when they call vpon him. And by effects, I vnderstand, in what speciall sorts or seruices he binds himselfe to be subject vnto them. The quality of these formes and effects, is lesse or greater, according to the skil & art of the *Magician*. For as to the formes, to some of the baser sort of them he oblishes himselfe to appeare at their calling vpon him, by such a proper name which he shewes vnto them, either in likenes of a dog, a catte, an Ape, or such-like other beast; or else to answere by a voice onely. The effects are to answere to such demands, as concernes curing of diseases, their owne particular menagerie: or such other base things as they require of him:

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## 20 *Dæmonologie. First Booke.*

But to the most curious sort, in the formes he will obliſh himſelfe, to enter in a dead body, and there out of to giue ſuch answeres, of the euent of battels, of matters cōcerning the eſtate of commonwelths, and ſuch like other great questions: yea, to ſome he will be a continuall attender, in forme of a Page: He will permit himſelfe to be conjured, for the ſpace of ſo many yeres, ether in a tablet or a ring, or ſuch like thing, which they may eaſely carry about with them: He giues them power to ſell ſuch wares to others, whereof ſome will be dearer, and ſome better cheape; according to the lying or true ſpeaking of the Spirit that is conjured therein. Not but that in very deed, all Devils muſt be liars; but ſo they abuſe the ſimplicity of theſe wretches, that becomes their ſcholars, that they make them beleeue, that at the fall of *Lucifer*, ſome Spirites fell in the aire, ſome in the fire, ſome in the water, ſome in the land: In which Elements they ſtill remaine. Whereupon they build, that ſuch as fell in the fire, or in the aire, are truer then they, who fell in the water or in the land, which is all but meare trattles, & forged by the author of al deceit. For they ſel not by weight, as a ſolide ſubſtance, to ſticke in any one part: But the principall part of their fall, conſiſting in quality, by the falling from the grace of God wherein they were created, they continued ſtill thereafter, and ſhall doe while the latter day, in wandering through the world, as Gods hang-men, to execute ſuch turnes as he employes them in. And when any of them are not occupied in that, re-  
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turne they must to their prison in hel (as it is plaine in the miracle that CHRIST wrought at *Genne- Math. 8. zareth*) therein at the latter day to be all inclosed for euer : and as they deceiue their scholars in this, so do they, in imprinting in them the opinion that there are so many Princes, Dukes, and Kings amongst them, euerie one commaunding fewer or mo Legions, and inspiring in diuers partes, and quarters of the earth. For though that I will not deny that there be a forme of ordour amongst the Angels in Heauen, and consequently, was amongst them before their fall ; yet either that they bruike the same sensine ; or that God will permit vs to know by damned Devils, such heauenlie mysteries of his, which he would not reueale to vs neither by Scripture nor Prophetes, I thinke no Christian will once thinke it. But by the contrary, of all such mysteries, as he hath closed vp with his seale of secrecie, it becommeth vs to be contented with an humble ignorance, they being things not necessary for our saluation. But to returne to the purpose, as these formes, wherein Sathan oblithes himselfe to the greatest of the *Magicians*, are wonderfull curious ; so are the effects correspondent vnto the same : For he will oblith himselfe to teach them artes and sciences, which he may easily doe, being so learned a knaue as he is : To carry them newes from any part of the world, which the agility of a Spirite may easelie performe : to reueale to them the secrets of any persons, so being they be once spoken, for the

## 22 *Dæmonologie. First Booke.*

thought none knowes but G O D ; except so far as hee may ghesse by their countenance , as one who is doubtlesly learned inough in the *Physiognomie* : Yea, he will make his schollers to creepe in credite with Princes , by fore-telling them many great things ; part true , part false : For if all were false , he would tyne credite at all handes ; but alwaies doubtfull , as his Oracles were. And he will also make them to please princes , by faire banquets and dainty dishes , carried in short space fra the farthest part of the world. For no man doubts but he is a thiefe , and his agility (as I spake before) makes him to come with such speed. Such-like, he will guard his scholars with faire armies of horsemen and footemen in appearance , Castles and fortes : Which all are but impressions in the aire , easely gathered by a spirite drawing so neare to that substance himselfe : As in like maner he will learne them many juglary trickes at Cardes , dice , and such like , to deceiue mens senses thereby : and such innumerable false practiques ; which are pro- uen by ouer-many in this age : As they who are acquainted with that *Italian* called *Scoro* yet living , can report. And yet are all these things but deluding of the senses , & no waies true in substance , as were the false miracles wrought by King *Pharaohs* Magicians , for counterfeiting *Moyse* : For that is the difference betwixt Gods miracles and the Deuils , God is a creator , what he makes appeare in miracle , it is so in effect. As *Moyse*s rod being casten downe , was no doubt turned in a naturall Serpent :



## *Dæmonologie. First Booke.* 23

pent : where as the Deuill (as Gods Ape) counter-  
setting that by his *Magicians*, made their wandes to  
appeare so, onely to mens outward senses : as ky-  
thed in effect by their being deuoured by the other.  
For it is no wonder, that the Deuill may delude  
our senses, since we see by common prooffe, that  
simple juglars will make an hundred things seeme  
both to our eies and eares otherwaies then they  
are. Now as to the *Magicians* part of the contract,  
it is in a word that thing, which I said before, the  
Deuill hunts for in all men.

PHI. Surely ye haue said much to me in this  
arte, it all that you haue said be as true as wonder-  
full.

EPI. For the trueth in these actions, it will be  
easily confirmed, to any that pleases to take paine  
vpon the reading of diuerse authenticque histories,  
and the inquiring of daily experiences. And as for  
the trueth of their possibility, that they may be, and  
in what maner, I trust I haue alleaged nothing  
whereunto I haue not ioined such probable rea-  
sons, as I leaue to your discretion, to way and con-  
sider : One word onely I omitted ; concerning the  
forme of making of this contract, which is either  
written with the *Magicians* owne blood : or else be-  
ing agreed vpon (in termes his schole-master) tou-  
ches him in some part, though peraduenture no  
marke remaine: as it doth with all Witches.

## 24 *Dæmonologie. First Booke.*

### CHAP. VII. ARGV.

*The reason why the art of Magic is vnlawfull. What punishment they merite: And who may be accounted guilty of that crime.*

#### PHILOMATHES.

**S**VRELIE Ye haue made this arte to appeare  
Svery monstrous & detestable : But what I pray  
you shall be said to such as maintaines this art to be  
lawfull, for as euill as you haue made it ?

EPI. I say, they fauour of the panne themselves,  
or at least little better, And yet I would be glad to  
heare their reasons.

PHI. There are two principally, that euer I  
heard vsed; beside that which is founded vpon the  
cōmon Prouerb (that the *Necromancers* commands  
the Deuill, which ye haue already refuted) The one  
is grounded vpon a receiued custome : The other  
vpon an authoritie, which some thinkes infallible.  
Vpon custome, we see that diuerse Christian Prin-  
ces and Magistrates seuerely punishers of Witches,  
will not onely ouer-see *Magicians* to liue within  
their dominions; but even some-times delight to  
see them prooue some of their practiques. The o-  
ther reason is, that *Moyse* being brought vp (as it is  
expresly said in the Scriptures) *in all the sciences of  
the AEgyptians*; whereof no doubt, this was one of  
the principall: And he notwithstanding of this  
art, pleasing God, as he did, consequently that art  
professed by so godly a man, could not be vnlaw-  
full.

EPI.



EPI. As to the first of your reasons, grounded vpon custome: I say, an euill custome can neuer be accepted for a good law; for the ouer great ignorance of the word in some Princes and Magistrates, and the contempt thereof in others, moues them to sinne heauely against their office in that point. As to the other reason, which seemes to be of greater weight, if it were formed in a Syllogisme; it behooued to be in many termes, and full of fallacies (to speake in termes of *Logique*) for first, that the generall proposition; affirming *Moyse* to be taught in all the sciences of the *AEgyptians*, should conclude that he was taught in *Magie*, I see no necessity. For we must vnderstand that the spirit of God there, speaking of sciences, vnderstands them that are lawfull: for except they be lawfull, they are but *abusiuè* called sciences, & are but ignorances, indeede: *Nam homo pius, non est homo*. Secondly, giuing that he had beene taught in it, there is great difference, betwixt knowledge and practising of a thing (as I said before). For God knoweth all things, being alwaies good, and of our sinne & our infirmity proceedeth our ignorance. Thirdly, giuing that he had both studied and practised the same (which is more nor monstrous to be beleued by any Christian) yet we know well enough, that before that euer the spirit of God began to call *Moyse*, he was fled out of *AEgypt*, being fourty yeares of age, for the slaughter of an *AEgyptian*, and in his good-father *Iethroes* lande, first called at the fiery bush, hauing remained there

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## 26 *Dæmonologie. First booke.*

other fourtie yeares in exile: so that suppose he had beene the wickeddest man in the worlde before, he then became a changed and regenerat man, and very litle of old *Moyſes* remained in him. *Abraham* was an idolater in *Vr of Chaldaea*, before he was called: And *Paule* being called *Saule*, was a most sharp persecutor of the Saintes of God, while that name was changed.

PHI. What punishment then thinke ye merites these *Magicians* and *Necromancers*?

EPI. The like no doubt, that *Sorcerers* and *Witches* merites; and rather so much greater, as their error proceeds of the greater knowledge, and so drawes nerer to the sin against the holy Ghost. And as I saie of them, so say I the like of all such as consults, enquires, entertains, & ouerſees them, which is ſeene by the miserable endes of many that askes counsell of them: For the Deuill hath neuer better tidings to tell to any, then he tolde to *Saule*: neither is it lawfull to vse so vnlawfull instrumentes, were it neuer for so good a purpose: for that

axiome in Theologie is most certaine

and infallible: *Nunquam facien-*

*dum eſt malum vt bonum*

*inde eueniat.*

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THE







# THE SECOND BOOKE OF *Dæmonologie.*

## ARGUMENT.

The description of Sorcerie and Witchcraft in speciall.

## CHAP. I. ARGV.

*Proved by the Scripture, that such a thing can be: and the reasons refuted of all such as would call it but an imagination and Melancholicque humor.*

## PHILOMATHES.

**N**OW since ye haue satisfied me now so fullie, concerning *Magie* or *Necromancie*, I will pray you to do the like in *Sorcerie* or *Witchcraft*.

EPI. That field is likewise very large: and although in the mouthes & pennes of many, yet few knowes

## 28 *Dæmonologie. Second Booke.*

the truth thereof, so well as they beleue themselves, as I shall so shortly as I can, make you (God willing) as easely to perceiue.

PHI. But I pray you before yee goe further, let me interrupt you heere with a short digression: which is, that many can scarcely beleue that there is such a thing as Witch-craft. Whose reasons I will shortly alleage vnto you, that ye may satisfie me as well in that, as ye haue done in the rest. For first, whereas the Scripture seemes to prooue Witch-craft to be, by diuers examples, and specially by sundry of the same, which ye haue alleaged; it is thought by some, that these places speakes of *Magicians* and *Necromancers* onely, & not of Witches. As in speciall, these wise men of *Pharaohs*, that couñterfeited *Moyse*s miracles, were *Magicians* say they, & not Witches: As likewise that *Pythouisse* that *Saul* consulted with: And so was *Simon Magus* in the new Testament, as that very stile imports. Secondly, where yee would oppone the daily practique, and confession of so many; that is thought likewise to be but very melancholicque imaginations of simple rauing creatures. Thirdly, if Witches had such power of Witching of folkes to death, (as they say they haue) there had beene none left aliue long sence in the world, but they: at the least, no good or godly person of whatsoeuer estate, could haue escaped their deuillrie.

EP I. Your three reasons as I take, are grounded the first of them *negativè* vpon the Scripture: The second *affirmativè* vpon Physicke: And the thirde  
vpon



*Dæmonologie. Second booke. 29*

vpon the certaine prooffe of experience. As to your first, it is most true indeed, that all these wise men of *Pharaoh* were *Magicians* of art: As likewise it appeares wel that the *Pythouisse*, with whom *Saul* consulted, was of that same profession: & so was *Simon Magus*. But yee omitted to speake of the Law of God, wherein are all *Magicians*, Diuines, Enchanters, Sorcerers, witches, & whatsoever of that kind that consults with the Deuill, plainly prohibited, and alike threatned against. And besides that, the who had the Spirit of *Python*, in the Actes, whose Spirit was put to silence by the Apostle, could be no other thing but a verie Sorcerer or Witch, if yee admit the vulgare distinction, to be in a manner true, whereof I spake in the beginning of our conference. For that spirit whereby she conquested such gaine to her Master, was not at her raising or cōmanding, as she pleased to appoint, but spake by her tounge, aswell publickly, as priuatelie: Whereby shee seemed to draw neerer to the sort of *Demoniakes* or possessed, if that conjunction betwixt them, had not beene of her owne consent: as it appeared by her, not being tormented therewith: And by her conquesting of such gaine to her masters (as I haue alreadie said.) As to your second reason grounded vpon Physick, in attributing their confessions or apprehensions, to a naturall melancholicque humour: Any that pleases Physical- lie to consider vpon the natural humour of melancholie, according to all the Physicians that euer writ thereupon, they shall finde that that will be

*Act. 16.*

## 30 *Dæmonologie. Second booke.*

ouer short a cloak to couer their knauery with: For as the humor of Melancholie in the selfe is blacke, heauie and terrene, so are the symptomes thereof, in any persons that are subiect thereunto, leannes, palenes, desire of solitude: and if they come to the highest degree thereof, mere folie & *Manie*: where as by the contrarie, a great number of them that euer haue bene convict or cōfessors of Witchcraft, as may be presently seene by many that haue at this time confessed: they are by the contrary, I say, some of them rich and worldly wise, some of them fat or corpulent in their bodies, and most part of them altogether giuen ouer to the pleasures of the flesh, continuall haunting of company, and all kind of merrinesse, both lawfull and vnlawfull, which are things directly contrary to the symptomes of Melancholie, whereof I spake, and further experience dayly proues how loath they are to confesse without torture, which witnesseth their guiltines; where by the contrary, the Melancholicques neuer spares to bewray themselues, by their continuall discourses, feeding thereby their humor in that which they thinke no crime. As to your third reason, it scarcely merits an answer. For if the deuill their master were not bridled, as the scriptures teacheth vs, suppose there were no men nor women to be his instruments, hee could finde waies enough without any helpe of others to wracke all mankind: wherevnto he employes his whole studie, and *goeth about like a roaring lion* (as PETER saith) to that effect, but the limits of his power were set downe before the

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foundations of the world were laid, which he hath not power in the least jote to trangresse. But beside all this, there is ouer great a certainty to proue that they are, by the daily experience of the harms that they doe, both to men, and whatsoeuer thing men possesse, whom God will permit them to be the instruments, so to trouble or visite, as in my discourse of that arte, yee shall heare clearely proued.

CHAP. II. ARGV.

*The Etymologie and signification of that worde of Sorcerie. The first entresse and prentishippe of them that giues themselves to that craft.*

PHILOMATHES.

Come on then I pray you, and returne where yee left.

EPI. This word of *Sorcerie* is a *Latine* worde, which is taken from casting of the lot, & therefore he that vseth it, is called *Sortiarius à sorte*. As to the word of *Witchcraft*, it is nothing but a proper name giuen in our language. The cause wherefore they were called *Sortiary*, proceeded of their practiques seeming to come of lot or chance: Such as the turning of the riddle: the knowing of the forme of praiers, or such like tokens: If a person deceased woulde liue or die. And in generall, that name was giuen them for vsing of such charmes, and freites, as that *Crafte* teacheth them. Manie points of their craft and practiques are common

## 32 *Dæmonologie. Second booke.*

betwixt the *Magicians* and them: for they serue both one master, although in diuers fashions. And as I deuided the *Necromancers*, into two sorts, learned and vnlearned; so must I diuide them in other two, rich and of better accompt, poore and of baser degree. These two degrees now of persons, that practises this craft, answers to the passions in them, which (I told you before) the deuill vsed as meanes to intise them to his seruice: for such of them as are in great miserie and pouertie, he allures to follow him, by promising vnto them great riches, and worldly commoditie. Such as though rich, yet burnes in a desperate desire of reuenge, he allures them by promises, to get their turne satisfied to their hearts contentment. It is to be noted nowe, that that olde and craftie enemye of ours, assailes none, though touched with any of these two extremities, except he first finde an entresse ready for him, either by the great ignorance of the person he deales with, ioined with an euill life, or else by their carelesnesse and contempt of God: And finding them in an vtter despaire, for one of these two former causes that I haue spoken of; hee prepares the way by feeding them craftely in their humour, and filling them further and further with despaire, while he finde the time proper to discouer himself vnto them. At which time, either vpon their walking solitarie in the fieldes, or else lying pausing in their bed; but alwaies without the company of any other, he either by a voice, or in likenesse of a man inquires of them, what troubles them: and promi-  
seth



seth them, a suddaine and certaine way of remedy, vpon conditon on the other part, that they follow his advise, and doe such things as he will require of them: Their mindes beeing prepared before hand, as I haue already spoken, they easely agreed vnto that demaund of his: And syne settes an other tryist, where they may meete againe. At which time, before hee procéede any further with them, he first perswades them to addiect themselves to his seruice: which being easely obtained, he then discouers what he is vnto them: makes them to renounce their God and Baptisme directly, and giues them his marke vpon some secreit place of their body, which remaines soare vnhealed, while his next meeting with them, and thereafter euer insensible, howsoeuer it be nipped or pricked by any, as is daily prooued, to giue them a prooffe thereby, that as in that dooing, he could hurt and heale them; so all their ill and well doing thereafter, must depend vpon him. And besides that, the intollerable dolour that they feele in that place, where hee hath marked them, serues to waken them, and not to let them rest, while their next meeting againe: fearing lest otherwaies they might either forget him, being as new Prentises, and not well enough founded yet, in that fiendly folly: or else remembering of that horrible promise they made him, at their last meeting, they might skunner at the same, and preasse to call it backe. At their third meeting, he makes a shew to be carefull to performe his promises, either by teaching them waies how to get  
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## 34 *Dæmonologie. Second booke.*

themselves reuenged, if they be of that sort: Or else by teaching them lessons, how by most vilde and vnlawfull meanes, they may obtaine gaine, and worldly commodity, if they be of the other sort.

### CHAP. III. ARGV.

*The Witches actions diuided in two parts. The actions proper to their owne persons. Their actions toward others. The forme of their conuentions, and adoring of their Maister.*

### PHILOMATHES.

**Y**Ee haue said now inough of their initiating in that ordour. It rests then that yee discourse vpon their practises, fra they be passed Prentises: for I would faine heare what is possible to them to performe in very deede. Although they serue a common Maister with the *Nectomancers*, (as I haue before said) yet serue they him in an other forme. For as the meanes are diuerse, which allures them to these vnlawfull artes of seruing of the Diuell; so by diuerse waies vse they their practises, answering to these meanes, which first the Diuell vsed as instruments in them; though all tending to one end: To wit, the enlarging of Sathans tyranny, and crossing of the propagation of the Kingdome of **CHRIST**, so farre as lieth in the possibility, either of the one or other sort, or of the Deuill their Maister. For where the *Magitians*, as allured by curiosity, in the most part of their practises, seekes principally the satisfying of the same, and to winne to themselves a popular honour and estimation:

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## *Dæmonologie. Second Booke. 35*

These Witches on the other part, being inticed, either for the desire of reuenge, or of worldly riches, their whole practises are either to hurt men and their gudes, or what they possesse, for satisfying of their cruell mindes in the former, or else by the wracke in quhatsoever sort, of any whom God will permit them to haue power of, to satisfy their greedy desire in the last point.

EPI. In two parts their actions may be diuided; the actions of their owne persons, and the actions proceeding from them towards any other. And this diuision being well vnderstood, will easily resolue you, what is possible to them to doe. For although all that they confesse is no lie vpon their part, yet doubtlesly, in my opinion, a part of it is not indeed, according as they take it to be: And in this I meane by the actions of their owne persons. For as I said before, speaking of *Magie*, that the Diuell illudes the senses of these schollers of his, in many things, so say I the like of these Witches.

PHI. Then I pray you first to speake of that part of their owne persons, and syne yee may com next to their actions towards others.

EPI. To the effect that they may performe such seruices of their false Maister, as he emploies them in, the Diuell as Gods Ape, counterfeites in his seruants, this seruice and forme of adoration; that God prescribed and made his seruants to practise. For as the seruants of GOD, publikely vses to conueene for seruing of him, so makes he them in great

### 36 *Dæmonologie. Second Booke.*

numbers to conueene (though publicly they dare not) for his seruice. As none conueenes to the adoration and worshipping of God, except they be marked with his seale, the Sacrament of Baptisme: So none serues Sathan, and conueenes to the adoring of him, that are not marked with that marke, wherof I already spake. As the Minister sent by God teacheth plainly at the time of their publike conuentions, how to serue him in spirit and truth: so that vncleane spirite, in his owne person teacheth his Disciples, at the time of their conueening, how to worke all kinde of mischief: And craues coumpt of all their horrible and detestable proceedings passed, for aduancement of his seruice. Yea that he may the more viuely counterfeit and scorne God, he oft times makes his slaues to conueene in these very places which are destinate and ordained for the conueening of the seruants of God (I meane by Churches.) But this farre, which I haue yet said, I not onely take it to be true in their opinions, but even so to be indeede. For the forme that he vsed in counterfeiting God amongst the Gentiles, makes me so to thinke: As God spake by his Oracles, spake he not so by his? As GOD had aswell bloudy Sacrifices, as others without blood, had not he the like? As God had Churches sanctified to his seruice, with Altars, Priests, Sacrifices, Ceremonies and Praiers; had he not the like polluted to his seruice? As God gaue responses by *Vrim* and *Thummim*; gaue he not his responses by the intralls of beasts, by the singing of Fowles, and by their actions



## *Dæmonologie. Second booke. 37*

actions in the aire? As God by visions, dreames, and extasies revealed what was to come, and what was his will vnto his seruants; vsed he not the like meanes to forewarne his slaues of things to come? Yea euen as God loued cleanness, hated vice and impurity, and appointed punishments therefore: vsed he not the like (though falsely I grant, and but in eschewing the lesse inconuenient, to draw them vpon a greater) yet dissimuled he not, I say, so farre as to appoint his Priestes to keepe their bodies cleane and vndefiled, before thyr asking responses of him? And fained he not God, to be a Protector of euery vertue, and a iust reuenger of the contrary? This reason then mooues me, that as he is that same Diuell, and as crafty now as he was then, so will he not spare as pertly in these actions that I haue spoken of, concerning the Witches persons: But further, Witches oft times confesse, not onely his conueening in the Church with them, but his occupying of the Pulpit: Yea, their forme of adoration, to be the kissing of his hinder parts. Which though it seeme ridiculous, yet may it likewise be true, seeing we reade that in *Calicute*, he appearing in forme of a Goate-bucke, hath publickly that vn-honest homage done vnto him, by euery one of the people: So ambitious is he, and greedy of honour (which procured his fall) that he will euen imitate God in that part, where it is said, that *Moyse* could see but the *hinder partes of God*, for *the brightnesse of his glory*: And yet that speech is spoken but *αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν λαόν.*

Exod. 33.

# 38 Dæmonologie. Second booke.

## CHAP. III. ARGV.

*What are the waies possible, wherby the witches may transport themselves to places far distant. And what are impossible & meere illusions of Sathan. And the reasons thereof.*

### PHILOMATHES.

**B**Vt by what way say they, or thinke ye it possible they can come to these vnlawful conuentions?

**EPI.** There is the thing which I esteeme their senses to be deluded in, and though they lie not in confessing of it, because they thinke it to be true, yet not to be so in substance or effect: for they say, that by diuerse meanes they may conueene, either to the adoring of their Maister, or to the putting in practise any seruice of his, committed vnto their charge: one way is naturall, which is naturall riding, going or sailing, at what houre their Maister comes and aduertises them. And this way may be easely beleeued: an other way is some-what more strange: and yet it is possible to be true: which is by being carried by the force of the Spirite which is their conductor, either aboue the earth, or aboue the Sea swiftly, to the place where they are to meete: which I am perswaded to be likewaies possible, in respect that as *Habakkuk* was carried by the Angell in that forme, to the denne where *Daniel* lay; so thinke I, the Deuill will be ready to imitate God, as well in that as in other things: which is much more possible to him to doe, being a Spirite, then to a mighty winde, being but a naturall meteore, to transporte from one place to another, a solide body as is commonly

Apocrypha of  
Bel and the  
Dragon.



*Dæmonologie. Second Booke.* 39

monly and daily seene in practise : But in this violent forme they cannot be carried, but a short bounds, agreeing with the space that they may retain their breath : for if it were longer, their breath could not remaine vnextinguished, their body being carried in such a violent and forcible maner, as by example : If one fall off an small height, his life is but in perill, according to the hard or soft lighting: But if one fall from an high and stay rocke, his breath will be forcibly bannished from the body, before he can win to the earth, as is oft seene by experience. And in this transporting they say themselves, that they are inuisible to any other, except amongst themselves; which may also be possible in my opinion. For if the diuell may forme what kind of impressions he pleases in the aire, as I haue said before, speaking of *Magie*, why may he not far easilier thicken & obscure so the aire, that is next about them, by contracting it strait together, that the beames of any other mans eies can not pearce thorow the same, to see them? But the third way of their comming to their conuentions, is that wherein I thinke them deluded : for some of them saith, that being transformed in the likenesse of a little beast or foule, they will come and pearce through whatsoeuer house or Church, though all ordinary passages be closed, by whatsoeuer open, the aire may enter in at. And some saith, that their bodies lying stil, as in an extasie, their spirits wil be rauished out of their bodies, & caried to such places. And for verifying thereof, wil giue euident tokens, aswel by

## 40 *Dæmonologie. Second Booke.*

witnesses that haue seene their body lying sencelesse in the meane time, as by naming persons, whome with they mette, and giuing tokens quhat purpose was amongst them, whome otherwaies they could not haue knowen: for this forme of journeying, they affirme to vse most, when they are transported from one Country to another.

P H I. Surely I long to heare your owne opinion of this: For they are like old wiuers trattles about the fire. The reasons that mooues me to thinke that these are meere illusions, are these. First, for them that are transformed in likenesse of beasts or foules, can enter through so narrow passages, although I may easily belecue that the Diuell could, by his woorkmanship vppon the aire, make them appeare to be in such formes, either to themselues, or to others: Yet how he can contract a solide body within so little roome, I thinke it is directly contrary to it selfe, for to be made so little, and yet not diminished: To be so straitly drawen together, and yet feele no paine; I thinke it is so contrary to the quality of a naturall body, and so like to the little transubstantiate god in the Papists Masse, that I can neuer belecue it. So to haue a quantity, is so proper to a solide body, that as all Philosophers concludes, it can not be any more without one, then a spirite can haue one. For, when *Peter came out of the prison, and the doores all locked*: It was not by any contracting of his body in so little roome: but by the giuing place of the doore, though vn-espied by the Gaylors. And yet is there no comparison, when



when this is done, betwixt the power of God, and of the diuell. As to their forme of extasie and spirituall transporting, it is certaine the soules going out of the bodie, is the onely definition of naturall death: and who are once dead, God forbid wee should thinke that it should lie in the power of all the Diuels in Hell, to restore them to their life againe: Although hee can put his owne spirit in a dead bodie, which the *Necromancers* commonlie practise, as yee haue heard. For that is the office properly belonging to God; and besides that, the soule once parting from the bodie, can not wander any longer in the world, but to the owne resting place must it goe immediatly, abiding the coniunction of the bodie againe, at the latter day.

And what Christ or the Prophets did miraculously in this case, it can not in no Christian mans opinion be made common with the Diuell. As for any tokens that they giue for proouing of this, it is very possible to the Diuels craft, to perswade them to these meanes. For he being a spirit, may he not so rauish their thoughts, and dull their senses, that their bodie lying as dead, he may obiekt to their spirits, as it were in a dreame, and (as the Poets write of *Morpheus*) represent such formes of persons, of places, and other circumstances, as he pleases to illude them with? Yea, that he may deceiue them with the greater efficacie, may he not at that same instant, by fellow Angels of his, illude such other persons so in that same fashion, whom with he makes them to beleue that they met; that all

## 42 *Dæmonologie. Second booke.*

their reports and tokens, though severally examined, may euery one agree with an other? And that whatsoeuer actions, either in hurting mē or beasts; or whatsoeuer other thing that they falsely imagine at that time to haue done, may by himselfe or his marrowes, at that same time be done indeed; so as if they would giue for a token of their being rauished at the death of such a person within so short space thereafter, whō they belecue to haue poisoned, or witched at that instant, might he not at that same houre, haue smitten that same person, by the permission of God, to the farther deceiuing of them, and to mooue others to belecue them? And this is surely the likeliest way, and most according to reason, which my iudgement can finde out in this, and whatsoeuer other vnnatural points of their confession. And by these meanes shal we saile surely, betwixt *Charybdis* and *Scylla*, in eschewing the not beleueing of them altogether on the one part, lest that drawe vs to the errour, that there is no Witches: and on the other part in beleueing of it, make vs to eschewe the falling into innumerable absurdities, both monstrously against all Theologie diuine, and Philosophie humane.

### CHAP. V. ARGV.

*Witches actions towards others. Why there are more women of that craft then men? What things are possible to them to effectuate by the power of their master. The reasons thereof. What is the surest remedy of the harmes done by them.*

PHI.



PHILOMATHES.

**F**Orsooth your opinion in this, seemes to carrie most reason with it, and since yee haue ended, then the actions belonging properly to their owne person: say forward now to their actions vsed towards others.

**EPI.** In their actions vsed towardes others, three things ought to be considered: First, the manner of their consulting thereupon: Next, their part as instruments: And last, their masters part, who puts the same in execution. As to their consultations thereupon, they vse them ofttest in the Churches, where they conueene for adoring: at what time their master enquiring at them what they would be at, euery one of them propones vnto him, what wicked turne they would haue done, either for obtaining of riches, or for reuenging them vpon any whom they haue malice at: who granting their demaund, as no doubt willingly he will, since it is to do euill, he reacheth them the means whereby they may do the same. As for little trifling turnes that women haue adoe with, he causeth them to ioynt dead corpses, and to make powders thereof, mixing such other things there-amongst, as he gives vnto them.

**PHI.** But before yee goe further, permit me, I pray you, to interrupt you one worde, which yee haue put mee in memorie of, by speaking of Women. What can be the cause that there are twentie women giuen to that craft, where there is one man?

**EPI.** The reason is easie, for as that sexe

## 44 *Dæmonologie. Second Booke.*

is frailer than man is, so is it easier to be intrapped in these grosse snares of the Diuell, as was ouer well prooued to be true, by the Serpents deceiuing of *Eua* at the beginning, which makes him the homelier with that sex sensine.

PHI. Returne now where ye left.

EPI. To some others at these times hee teacheth, how to make pictures of waxe or clay : That by the roasting thereof, the persons that they beare the name of, may be continually melted or dried away by continuall sickenesse. To some he giues such stones or poulders, as will helpe to cure or cast on diseases : And to some hee teacheth kinds of vncouth poisons, which Mediciners vnderstands not (for hee is farre cunninger than man in the knowledge of all the occult proprieties of nature) not that any of these meanes which he teacheth them (except the poisons which are composed of things naturall) can, of themselves, helpe any thing to these turnes, that they are employed in, but onely being Gods Ape, as well in that, as in all other things. Euen as God by his Sacraments which are earthly of themselves, works an heavenly effect, though no wayes by any cooperation in them : And as Christ by clay and spittle wrought together, *opened the eyes of the blinde man*, suppose there was no vertue in that which hee outwardly applied, so the Diuell will haue his outward meanes to be shewes, as it were of his doing, which hath no part of cooperation in his turnes with him, how farre that euer the ignorants be abused  
in



*Dæmonologie. Second Booke. 45*

in the contrarie. And as to the effects of these two former parts, to wit, the consultations and the outward meanes, they are so woonderfull, as I dare not alleadge any of them, without ioyning a sufficient reason of the possibilitie thereof. For leauing all the small trifles among wiues, and to speake of the principall points of their craft. For the common trifles thereof, they can doe without conuerting well enough by themselues: These principall points I say are these: They can make men or women to loue or hate other, which may be very possible to the Diuell to effectuate, seeing he being a subtile spirit, knowes well enough how to perswade the corrupted affection of them, whom God will permit him so to deale with: They can lay the sicknesse of one vpon another, which likewise is verie possible vnto him: For since by Gods permission, hee layed sicknesse vpon *Iob*, why may he not farre easilier lay it vpon any other: For as an old practitian, he knowes well enough what humour domines most in any of vs, and as a spirit he can subtiltie walken vp the same, making it peccant, or to abound, as hee thinks meet for troubling of vs, when God will so permit him. And for the taking off of it, no doubt he will be glad to relieue such of present paine, as he may thinke by these meanes to perswade to be catched in his euerlasting snares and fetters. They can bewitch and take the life of men or women, by roasting of the pictures, as I spake of before, which likewise is verie possible to their Maister to performe, for although (as I said

## 46. *Dæmonologie. Second Booke.*

before) that instrument of waxe haue no vertue in that turne doing, yet may hee not very well, euen by the same measure that his coniured slaues melts that waxe at the fire, may hee not, I say, at these same times, subtilly, as a spirite, so weaken and scatter the spirites of life of the patient, as may make him on the one part, for faintnesse, to sweate out the humour of his bodie: And on the other parte, for the not concurrence of these spirites, which causes his digestion, so debilitate his stomacke, that this humour radicall continually sweating out on the one part, and no new good sucke being put in the place thereof, for lacke of digestion on the other, he at last shall vanish away, euen as his picture will doe at the fire? And that knauish and cunning workeman, by troubling him, onely at sometimes, makes a proportion, so neere betwixt the working of the one and the other, that both shall end as it were at one time. They can raise stormes and tempests in the aire, either vpon Sea or land, though not vniuersally, but in such a particular place and prescribed bounds, as G O D will permitte them so to trouble: VVhich likewise is very easie to be discerned from any other naturall tempests, that are meteores, in respect of the suddaine and violent raising thereof, together with the short induring of the same. And this is likewise very possible to their master to doe, he hauing such affinitie with the aire as being a spirite, and hauing such power of the forming and moouing thereof, as yee haue heard me already declare: For  
in



## *Dæmonologie. Second Booke. 47*

in the Scripture, that stile of, *the Prince of the aire*, Ephes. 2. is giuen vnto him. They can make folke to become Phrenticque or Maniacque, which likewise is verie possible to their master to do, since they are but naturall sicknesses: and so he may lay on these kindes, aswell as any others. They can make spirits, either to follow and trouble persons, or haunt certaine houses, and affray oftentimes the inhabitants: as hath beene knowen to be done by our Witchès at this time. And likewise they can make some to bee possessed with spirits, & so to become very Dæmoniacques: and this last sort is very possible likewise to the Diuell their Maister to doe, since he may easily send his owne Angels to trouble in what forme he pleases, any whom God wil permit him so to vse.

PHI. But will God permit these wicked instruments by the power of the Diuell their Maister, to trouble by any of these meanes, any that beleeeues in him?

EPI. No doubt, for there are three kinde of folkes whom God will permit so to be tempted or troubled; The wicked for their horrible sinnes, to punish them in the like measure; The godly that are sleeping in any great sinnes or infirmities and weakenesse in faith, to waken them vp the faster by such an vncomforth forme: And euen some of the best, that their patience may bee tried before the world, as Iob was. For why may not God vse any kinde of extraordinary punishment, when it pleases him; as wel as the ordinary rods of sicknesse or other aduersities?

PHI.

## 48 *Dæmonologie. Second Booke.*

PHI. Who then may be free from these diuellish practises?

EPI. No man ought to presume so farre as to promise any impunitie to himselfe. For God hath before all beginnings, præordinated, as well the particular sorts of plagues, as of benefits for euery man, which in the owne time hee ordaines them to be visited with, and yet ought we not to be the more afraid for that, of any thing that the Diuell and his wicked instruments can doe against vs: For we dayly fight against the Diuell in a hundreth other wayes: And therefore, as a valiant Captaine affraies no more being at the combat, nor stayes from his purpose for the rummishing shot of a canon, nor the small clack of a pistolet: suppose he be not certaine what may light vpon him; Euen so ought we boldly to goe forward in fighting against the Diuell without any greater terrour, for these his rarest weapons, nor for the ordinarie whereof we haue dayly the prooffe.

PHI. Is it not lawfull then, by the helpe of some other Witch, to cure the disease that is casten on by that craft?

EPI. No wayes lawfull: For I gaue you the reason thereof in that axiome of Theologie, Which was the last words I spake of *Magie*.

PHI. How then may these diseases be lawfully cured?

EPI. Onely by earnest prayer vnto God, by amendment of their liues, and by sharpe pursuing euerie one, according to his calling of these instruments



## Dæmonologie. Second Booke. 49

mentes of Sathan, whose punishment to the death will be a salutory sacrifice for the patient. And this is not onely the lawfull way, but likewise the most sure: For by the Devils meanes, *can neuer the diuell be cast out*, as Christ saith. And when such a cure is vsed, it may well serue for a short time, but at the last, it will doubtlesly tend to the vtter perdition of the patient, both in body and soule.

### CHAP. VI. ARGV.

*What sort of folkes are least or most subiect to receiue harme by Witchcraft. What power they haue to harme the Magistrate, and vpon what respects they haue any power in prison: And to what end may or will the Deuill appeare to them therein. Vpon what respects the Deuill appeares in sundry shapes to sundry of them at any time.*

### PHILOMATHES.

**B**Vt who dare take vppon him to punish them, if no man can be sure to be free from their vnnaturall inuasions?

**EPI.** We ought not the more of that restraine from vertue, that the way whereby we climbe thereunto be straight and perrilous. But besides that, as there is no kinde of persons so subject to receiue harme of them, as these that are of infirme and weake faith (which is the best buckler against such inuasioness:) so haue they so smal power ouer none, as ouer such as zealously and earnestly perlewes them, without sparing for any worldly respect.

**PHI.** Then they are like the Pest, which smites these sickarest, that flies it farthest, and apprehends

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deepeliest

## 48 *Dæmonologie. Second Booke.*

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H

deepelest

## 50 *Dæmonologie. Second Booke.*

deepest the perill thereof.

**EPI.** It is euen so with them: For neither is it able to them to vse any false cure vpon a patient, except the patient first beleue in their power, and so hazard the rissell of his own soule; nor yet can they haue lesse power to hurt any, nor such as concerns most their doings, so being it comes of faith, and not of any vaine arrogancie in themselues.

**PHI.** But what is their power against the Magistrate?

**EPI.** Lesse or greater, according as he deales with them. For if he be slouthfull towards them, God is very able to make them instruments to waken and punish his slouth. But if he be the contrarie, he according to the iust law of God, and allowable law of all nations, will be diligent in examining and punishing of them: God will not permit their master to trouble or hinder so good a worke.

**PHI.** But fra they be once in hands & firmance, haue they any further power in their craft?

**EPI.** That is according to the forme of their detention. If they be but apprehended and detained by any priuate person, vpon other priuate respects, their power no doubt either in escaping, or in doing hurt, is no lesse nor euer it was before. But if on the other part, their apprehending and detention be by the lawfull Magistrate, vpon the iust respects of their guiltinesse in that craft, their power is then no greater than before that euer they medled with their master. For where God beginnes iustly to strike by his lawfull Lieutenants, it is not in the Diuels power to defraud or bereaue him of the office,



office, or effect of his powerfull and reuenging Scepter.

PHI. But wil neuer their master come to visit the, fra they be once apprehended and put in firmance?

EPI. That is according to the estate that these miserable wretches are in: For if they be obstinate in stil denying, he will not spare, when he findes time to speake with them, either if he finde them in any comfort, to fill them more and more with the vaine hope of some maner of reliefe: or else if he finde them in a deepe dispaire, by all means to augment the same, & to perswade them by some extraordinary meanes to put themselues downe, which very commonly they do. But if they be penitent & confesse, God will not permit him to trouble them any more with his presence and allurements.

PHI. It is not good vsing his counsell I see then. But I would earnestly know when hee appears to them in prison, what formes vses he then to take?

EPI. Diuers formes, euē as he vses to do at other times vnto them. For as I told you, speaking of *Magie*, he appears to that kind of craftes-men ordinarily in an forme, according as they agree vpon it amongst themselues: Or if they be but prentises, according to the qualitie of their circles or conjurations. Yet to these capped creatures, he appears as he pleases, and as he findes meetest for their humors. For euen at their publicke conuentions, hee appears to diuers of them in diuers formes, as we haue found by the difference of their confessions in that point: For he deluding them with vaine impressions in the aire, makes himselfe to seeme

## 52 *Dæmonologie. Second Booke.*

more terrible to the grosser sort, that they may thereby be mooued to feare and reuerence him the more: And lesse monstrous and vncouth-like againe to the craftier sort, least otherwaies they sturre and skunner at his vglinesse.

PHI. How can he then be felt, as they confesse they haue done him, if his bodie be but of aire?

EPI. I heare little of that amongst their confessions, yet may he make himselfe palpable, either by assuming any dead bodie, and vsing the ministrie therof, or else by deluding as wel their sence of feeling as seeing; which is not impossible to him to do, since all our senses, as we are so weake, and euen by ordinarie sicknesses will be often-times deluded.

PHI. But I would speere one worde further yet, cōcerning his appearing to them in prison, which is this. May any other that chanches to be present at that time in the prison, see him as well as they.

EPI. Some-times they will, and some-times not, as it pleases God.

### CHAP. VII. ARGV.

*Two formes of the deuils visible conuersing in the earth, with the reasons wherefore the one of them was communest in the time of Papistrie: And the other sensine. Those that denies the power of the deuill, denies the power of God, and are guiltie of the error of the Sadduces.*

### PHILOMATHES.

**H**Ath the deuill then power to appeare to any other, except to such as are his sworne disciples: especially since al Oracles, & such like kinds of  
illusions



illusions were taken away and abolished by the comming of Christ?

**EPI.** Although it bee true indeede, that the brightnesse of the Gospell at his comming, scaled the cloudes of all these grosse errors in the Gentilisme: yet that these abusing spirits, ceases not sensine at sometimes to appeare, daily experience teaches vs. Indeed this difference is to be marked betwixt the formes of Sathans conuersing visibly in the world. For of two different formes thereof, the one of them by the spreading of the Euangell, and conquest of the white horse, in the sixt Chapter of the Reuelation, is much hindred and become rarer there-through in his appearing to any Christians, troubling of them outwardly, or possessing of them constrainedly. The other of them is become cōmuner and more vsed sensine, I meane by their vnlawfull arts, whereupon our whole purpose hath bene. This we finde by experience in this Ile to be true. For as we know, moe Ghosts and spirites were seene, nor tongue can tell, in the time of blind *Papistris* in these countries, where now by the contrary, a man shall scarcely all his time heare once of such thinges. And yet were these vnlawfull artes farre rarer at that time: and neuer were so much harde of, nor so rife as they are now.

**PHI.** What should be the cause of that?

**EPI.** The diuerse nature of our sinnes procures at the Iustice of God, diuerse sorts of punishments answering thereunto. And therefore as in the time of *Papistris*, our fathers erring grossely, & through

## 54 *Dæmonologie. Second Booke.*

ignorance, that mist of errors ouershaddowed the Deuill to walke the more familiarlie amongst them: And as it were by banelie and affraying terrors, to mocke and accuse their banelie errors. By the contrary, we now being sounde of Religion, and in our life rebelling to our profession, God iustly by that sinne of rebellion, as *Samuel* calleth it, accuseth our life so wilfullie fighting against our profession.

**P H I.** Since yee are entred now to speake of the appearing of spirites: I would bee glad to heare your opinion of that matter. For manie denies that any such spirites can appeare in these daies as I haue said.

**E P I.** Doubtleslie who denieth the power of the Deuill, would likewise denie the power of God, if they could for shame. For since the Deuill is the verie contrarie opposite to God, there can be no better way to know God, then by the contrarie; as by the ones power (though a creature) to admire the power of the great Creator: by the falshood of the one to consider the trueth of the other, by the iniustice of the one to consider the Iustice of the other: And by the crueltie of the one, to consider the mercifulnesse of the other; and so foorth in all the rest of the essence of God, and qualities of the Deuill. But I feare indeed, there be ouer many *Saduces* in this world, that denies all kindes of spirits: For convicting of whose error, there is cause enough if there were no more, that God shoulde permit at sometimes spirits visibly to kyith.

THE





# THE THIRD BOOKE OF *Dæmonologie.*

## ARGUMENT.

The description of all these kindes of Spirits that troubles men or women. The conclusion of the whole Dialogue.

## CHAP. I. ARGUMENT.

*The diuision of spirits in foure principall kindes. The description of the first kinde of them, called Spectra & vmbraë mortuorum. What is the best way to be free of their trouble.*

## PHILOMATHES.



Pray you now then goe forward in telling what ye thinke fabulous, or may be trowed in that case.

EPI. That kind of the deuils conuersing in the earth, may be diuided in foure different

## 56 *Dæmonologie. Third Booke.*

rent kindes, whereby he affraieth and troubleth the bodies of men : For of the abusing of the soule, I haue spoken alreadye. The first is, where spirits troubles some houses or solitarie places : The second, where spirits followes vpon certaine persons, and at diuers houres troubles them : The third, when they enter within them and possesse them : The fourth is these kinde of spirits that are called vulgarlie the Fairie. Of the three former kindes, ye heard alreadye, how they may artificiallie be made by Witch-craft to trouble folke : Now it rests to speake of their naturall comming as it were, and not raised by Witch-craft. But generally I must for-warne you of one thing before I enter in this purpose : that is, that although in my discoursing of them, I diuide them in diuers kindes, ye must notwithstanding thereof note my phrase of speaking in that : For doubtlesly they are in effect but all one kinde of spirits, who for abusing the more of mankinde, takes on these fundrie shapes, and vses diuers formes of out-ward actions, as if some were of nature better than other. Now I returne to my purpose : As to the first kinde of these spirits that were called by the auncients by diuers names, according as their actions were. For if they were spirits that haunted some houses, by appearing in diuers and horrible formes, and making great dinne : they were called *Lemures* or *Spectra*. If they appeared in likenesse of anie defunct to some friends of his, they were called *Vmbra mortuorum* : And so innumerable stiles they got, according to their actions,



## *Dæmonologie. Third Booke. 57*

actions, as I haue said alreadie: As we see by experience, how many stiles they haue giuen them in our language in the like maner. Of the appearing of these spirites, we are certified by the Scriptures, where the Prophet *Esay* 13. and 34. <sup>*Esay 13.*</sup> chapters threatening the destruction of *Ierusalem*: <sup>*Ier. 50.*</sup> declares, that it shall not onely be wracked, but shall become so great a solitude, as it shall be the habitacke of Howlerres, and of *Zim* and *Im*, which are the proper Hebrew names for these Spirites. The cause why they haunte solitary places, it is by reason, that they may affray and brangle the more the faith of such as them alone hauntes such places. For our nature is such, as in companies we are not so soone mooued to any such kinde of feare, as being solitary, which the Diuell knowing well inough, hee will not therefore assaile vs but when we are weake: And besides that, GOD will not permit him so to dishonour the societies and companies of Christians, as in publike times and places to walke visibly amongst them. On the other part, when he troubles certaine houses that are dwelt in, it is a sure token either of grosse ignorance, or of some grosse and slanderous finnes amongst the inhabitants thereof: which God by that extraordinary rod punishes.

PHI. But by what way or passage can these Spirites enter in these houses, seeing they alledge that they will enter, Doore and Windowe being steiked?

## 58 *Dæmonologie. Third booke.*

**EPI.** They will choose the passage for their entresse, according to the forme that they are in at that time. For if they haue assumed a dead body, whereinto they lodge themselves, they can easely enough open without dinne any Doore or Window, and enter in thereat. And if they enter as a spirite onely, any place where the aire may come in at, is large inough an entry for them. For as I said before, a spirite can occupy no quantity.

**PHI.** And will God then permit these wicked spiritesto trouble the rest of a dead body, before the resurrection thereof? Or if he will so, I thinke it should be of the reprobate onely.

**EPI.** What more is the rest troubled of a dead body, when the Diuell carries it out of the graue to serue his turne for a space, nor when the Witches takes it vp and iointes it, or when as Swine wortes vppe the graues? The rest of them that the Scripture speakes of, is not meened by a locall remaining continually in one place, but by their resting from their trauelles and miseries of this world, while their latter conjunction againe with the soule at that time to receiue full glory in both. And that the Diuell may vse as well the ministry of the bodies of the faithfull in these cases, as of the vn-faithfull, there is no inconuenient; for his haunting with their bodies after they are dead, can no-waies defyle them, in respect of the soules absence. And for any dishonour it can be vnto them, by what reason  
can



*Dæmonologie. Third Booke. 59*

can it be greater, then the hanging, heading, or many such shameful deaths, that good men will suffer? for there is nothing in the bodies of the faithfull, more worthy of honour, or freer from corruption by nature, nor in these of the vnfaithfull, while time they be purged and glorified in the latter day, as is daily seene by the vilde diseases and corruptions, that the bodies of the faithfull are subiect vnto, as yee will see clearely prooued, when I speake of the possessed and Dæmoniacques.

PHI. Yet there are sundry that affirmes to haue haunted such places, where these spirites are alleaged to be: And could neuer heare nor see any thing.

EPI. I thinke well: For that is only reserued to the secrete knowledge of God, whom he will permit to see such things, and whom not.

PHI. But where these spirites hautes and troubles any houses, what is the best way to banish them?

EPI. By two meanes may onely the remeid of such things be procured: The one is ardent prayer to God, both of these persones that are troubled with them, and of that Church whereof they are. The other is the purging of themselues by amendment of life from such sinnes, as haue procured that extraordinary plague.

PHI. And what meanes then these kindes of spirites, when they appeare in the shaddow of a person newly dead, or to die, to his friends?

EPI. When they appeare vpon that occasion,  
I 2 they

## 60 *Dæmonologie. Third Booke.*

they are called *Wraithes* in our language. Amōgst the *Gentiles* the Diuell vsed that much, to make them belecue that it was some good spirite that appeared to them then, either to forewarne them of the death of their friend ; or else to discouer vnto them, the will of the defunct, or what was the way of his slaughter, as it is written in the booke of the histories Prodigious. And this way he easily deceiued the *Gentiles*, because they knew not God: And to that same effect is it, that he now appears in that maner to some ignorant Christians. For he dare not so illude any that knoweth that, neither can the spirite of the defunct returne to his friend, or yet an Angell vse such formes.

PHI. And are not our war-woolfes one sorte of these spirits also, that hauntes and troubles some houses or dwelling places?

EPI. There hath indeede bene an old opinion of such like things ; For by the *Greekes* they were called *λυπιδρωποι*, which signifieth Men-woolfes. But to tell you simply my opinion in this, if any such thing hath beene, I take it to haue proceeded but of a naturall super-aboundance of Melancholie, which as we reade, that it hath made some thinke themselves Pitchers, and some horses, and some one kinde of beast or other : So suppose I that it hath so viciat the imagination and memory of some, as *per lucida interualla* it hath so highly occupied them, that they haue thought themselves very Woolfes indeed at these times : and so haue counterfeited their actiones in going one their hands



## Dæmonologie. Third Booke. 61

hands and feete, preassing to deuoure women and barnes, fighting and snatching with all the towne dogges, and in vsing such like other bruitish acti-ones, and so to become beastes by a strong apprehension, as *Nabucad-netzar* was seuen yeeres: but *Dan. 4.* as to their hauing and hiding of their hard and schellie sluiches, I take that to be but eiked, by vn-certaine report, the author of all lies.

### CHAP. II. ARGV.

*The description of the next two kindes of Spirites, whereof the one followes outwardly, the other possesses inwardly the persones that they trouble. That since all Prophecies and visions are now ceased, all spirites that appeares in these formes are euill.*

### PHILOMATHES.

**C**OME forward now to the rest of these kindes of spirites.

**EPI.** As to the next two kindes, that is, either these that outwardly troubles and followes some persones, or else inwardly possesses them: I will conioyne them in one, because as well the causes are alike in the persons that they are permitted to trouble: as also the waies whereby they may be remedied and cured.

**PHI.** What kinde of persones are they that vses to be so troubled?

**EPI.** Two kindes in speciall: Either such as being guilty of greuous offences, God punishes

## 62 *Dæmonologie. Third Booke.*

Luk. 13.

by that horrible kinde of scourge, or else being persons of the best nature peradventure, that yee shall finde in all the Countrey about them, GOD permits them to be troubled in that sort, for the triall of their patience, and wakening vp of their zeale, for admonishing of the beholders not to trust ouer-much in themselues, since they are made of no better stuffe, and peradventure blotred with no smaller sinnes (as Christ said, speaking of them vpon whom the Tower of *Sylo* fell:) And for giuing likewise to the spectatours, matter to praise GOD, that they meriting no better, are yet spared from being corrected in that fearefull forme.

PHI. These are good reasons for the part of GOD, which apparantly mooues him so to permit the Diuell to trouble such persons. But since the Diuell hath ever a contrary respect in all the actions that GOD imployes him in: which is I pray you the end and marke he shoots at in this turne?

EPI. It is to obtaine one of two things thereby, if hee may: The one is the tinsell of their life, by inducing them to such perillous places at such time as he either followes or possessesthem, which may procure the same: And such like, so farre as GOD will permit him, by tormenting them to weaken their bodie, and cast them in incurable diseases. The other thing that hee preases to obtaine by troubling of them, is the tinsell of their soule, by intising them to mistrust  
and



## Dæmonologie. Third booke. 63

and blaspheme God : Either for the intollerablenesse of their torments, as he assayed to haue done with *Iob*; or else for his promising vnto them to *Iob. 1.* leaue the troubling of them, in case they would so doe, as is knowen by experience at this same time by the confession of a yoong one that was so troubled.

PHI. Since ye haue spoken now of both these kindes of spirits comprehending them in one : I must now goe backe againe in speering some questions of euery one of these kindes in speciall. And first for these that followes certaine persons, yee know that there are two sorts of them : One sort that troubles and torments the persons that they haunt with : Another sort that are seruiceable vnto them in all kinde of their necessities, and omits neuer to forewarne them of any suddaine perill that they are to be in. And so in this case, I would vnderstand whether both these sorts bee but wicked and damned spirits : Or if the last sort be rather Angelles, (as should appeare by their actions) sent by God to assist such as hee specially fauours. For it is written in the Scriptures, that God *Gen. 32.* *sends Legions of Angels to guard and watch ouer his* *1. King. 6.* *elect.* *Psal. 34.*

EPI. I know well enough where fra that error which ye alledge hath proceeded : For it was the ignorant Gentiles that were the fountaine thereof. Who for that they knew not God, they forged in their owne imaginations, euery man to be still accompanied with two spirits, whereof they called  
the

## 64 *Dæmonologie. Third Booke.*

the one *genius bonus*, the other *genius malus*: the Greekes called them *εὐδαίμονα* & *κακοδαίμονα*: where of the former they said, perswaded him to all the good he did: the other entised him to all the euill. But praised be God, we that are Christians, & walks not amongst the *Cymmerian* coniectures of man, knowes well inough, that it is the good spirite of God onely, who is the fountain of all goodnes, that perswades vs to the thinking or doing of any good: and that it is our corrupted flesh and Sathan, that intiseth vs to the contrary. And yet the Diuell for confirming in the heades of ignorant Christians, that error first maintained among the Gentiles, he whiles among the first kind of spirits that I speake of, appeared in time of Papistry and blindenesse, and haunted diuers houses, without doing any euill, but doing as it were necessary turnes vp and downe the house: and this spirit they called *Brownie* in our language, who appeared like a rough-man: yea, some were so blinded, as to belecue that their house was all their sonnier, as they called it, that such spirites resorted there.

**P H I.** But since the Diuels intention in all his actions, is euer to doe euill, what euill was there in that forme of doing, since their actions outwardly were good?

**E P I.** Was it not euill inough to deceiue simple ignorants, in making them to take him for an Angell of light, and so to account of Gods enemy, as of their particular friend: where by the contrary, all we that are Christians, ought assuredly to know  
that



## Dæmonologie. Third Booke. 65

that since the coming of Christ in the flesh, and establishing of his Church by the Apostles, all miracles, visions, prophecies, and appearances of Angels or good spirits are ceased. Which served onely for the first sowing of faith, and planting of the Church. Where now the Church being established, and the white Horse whereof I spake before, having made his conquest, the Law and Prophets are thought sufficient to serve vs, or make vs inexcusable, as Christ saith in his parable of *Lazarus* and the rich man.

### CHAP. III. ARGV.

*The description of a particular sort of that kinde of following spirits, called Incubi and Succubi: And what is the reason wherefore these kindes of spirits haunts most the Northerne and barbarous parts of the world.*

### PHILOMATHES.

**T**He next question that I would speere, is likewise concerning this first of these two kindes of spirits that ye haue conioyned: and it is this; ye know how it is commonly written and reported, that amongst the rest of the sorts of spirits that followes certaine persons, there is one more monstrous nor all the rest: in respect as it is alleged, they conuerse naturally with them whom they trouble and haunts with: and therefore I would know in two things your opinion heerein: First, if such a thing can be: and next, if it be; whether there be a difference of sexes amongst these spirits or not?

EPI. That abhominable kinde of the Devils

K

abusing

## 66 *Dæmonologie. Third Booke.*

abusing of men or women, was called of old, *Incubi* and *Succubi*, according to the difference of the sexes that they conuersed with. By two meanes this great kinde of abuse might possibly be performed: The one, when the Diuell onely as a spirite, and stealing out the sperme of a dead body, abuses them that way, they not graithly seeing anie shape or feeling any thing, but that which he so conueies in that part: As we reade of a Monasterie of Nunnes which were burnt for their being that way abused. The other meane is, when hee borrowes a dead bodie, and so visiblie, and as it seemes vnto them, naturally as a man conuerses with them. But it is to bee noted, that in whatsoever waie he vseth it, that sperme seemes intollerably colde to the person abused. For if he steale out the nature of a quicke person, it cannot be so quickly carried, but it will both tine the strength and heate by the way, which it could neuer haue had for lacke of agitation, which in the time of procreation is the procurer and wakener vp of these two naturall qualities. And if he occupying the dead bodie as his lodging, expell the same out thereof in the due time, it must likewise be colde by the participation with the qualities of the dead body whereout of it comes. And whereas yee enquire if these spirites be diuided in sexes or not, I thinke the rules of Philosophie may easily resolue a man of the contrarie: For it is a sure principle of that Art, that nothing can be diuided in sexes, except such liuing bodies as must haue a naturall seede to generate



## Dæmonologie. Third Booke. 67

ner by. But we know spirits hath no seed proper to themselves, nor yet can they gender one with another.

PHI. How is it then that they say sundry monsters haue bene gotten by that way?

EPI. These tales are nothing but *Amiles fabula*. For that they haue no nature of their owne, I haue shewed you alreadie. And that the cold nature of a dead bodie, can worke nothing in generation, it is more nor plaine, as being already dead of it selfe as well as the rest of the body is, wanting the naturall heat, and such other naturall operation, as is necessarie for working that effect: and in case such a thing were possible (which were allutterly against all the rules of nature) it would breed no monster, but onely such a naturall off-spring, as would haue commed betwixt that man or woman and that other abused person, in case they both being aliue had had a doe with other. For the Diuels part therein, is but the naked carrying or expelling of that substance: And so it could not participate with no qualitie of the same. Indeed, it is possible to the craft of the Diuell to make a womans bellie to swell after he hath that way abused her, which he may do either by stirring vp her owne humor, or by hearbs, as we see beggers dayly doe. And when the time of her deliuey should come to make her thoil great dolours, like vnto that naturall course, and then subillie to slippe in the Mid-wiues handes, stockes, stones, or some monstrous barne brought from some other place, but this is more reported

## 68 *Dæmonologie. Third Booke.*

and ghesed at by others, nor beleueed by me.

P H I. But what is the cause that this kinde of abuse is thought to be most common in such wilde parts of the world, as *Lap-land*, and *Fin-land*, or in our North Iles of *Orknay* and *Schet-land*?

E P I. Because where the Diuell findes greatest ignorance and barbaritie, there assailes he grosliest, as I gaue you the reason wherefore there was moe Witches of women-kinde nor men.

P H I. Can any be so vnhappy as to giue their willing consent to the Diuels vilde abusing them in this forme?

E P I. Yea, some of the Witches haue confessed, that he hath perswaded them to giue their willing consent thereunto, that he may thereby haue them feltered the sikarer in his snares. But as the other cōpelled sort is to be pitied and prayed for, so is this most highly to be punished and detested.

P H I. Is not the thing which wee call the *Mare*, which takes folkes sleeping in their beds, a kinde of these spirits, whereof ye are speaking?

E P I. No, that is but a naturall sicknesse, which the Mediciners haue giuen that name of *Incubus* vnto *ab incubando*, because it being a thicke fleume, falling into our breast vpon the heart, while we are sleeping, intercludes so our vitall spirits, and takes all power from vs, as makes vs think that there were some vnnaturall burden or spirit, lying vpon vs, and holding vs downe.



# Dæmonologie. Third Booke. 69

CHAP. III. ARGV.

*The description of the Dæmoniacks and possessed. By what reason the Papists may haue power to cure the.*

PHILOMATHES.

WELL, I haue told you now all my doubts, and ye haue satisfied me therein, concerning the first of these two kindes of spirits that ye haue conioyned. Now I am to inquire onely two things at you concerning the last kinde, I meane the Dæmoniacks. The first is, whereby shall these possessed folks be discerned fra them that are troubled with a naturall Phrensie or Manie? The next is, how can it be that they can be remedied by the Papists Church, whom we counting as hereticks, it should appeare that one Diuell should not cast out another, for then would *his kingdome be diuided in it selfe*, as Christ said?

EPI. As to your first question, there are diuers symptomes, whereby that heauie trouble may be discerned from a naturall sicknesse, and specially three, omitting the diuers vaine signes that the Papists attributes vnto it: Such as the raging at holy water, their fleeing a backe from the Crosse, their not abiding the hearing of God named, and innumerable such like vaine things that were alike fashious and feckles to recite. But to come to these three symptomes then, whereof I spake; I account the one of them to be the incredible strength of the possessed creature, which will farre exceed the strength of fixe of the wightest and wodest of any other men that are not so troubled. The next is the

## 70 *Dæmonologie. Third booke.*

boldning vp so far of the patients breast and bellie, with such an vnnaturall stirring and vehement agitation within them : And such an ironie hardnesse of his sinnewes so stiffely bended out, that it were not possible to pricke out as it were the skinne of any other person so far : so mightily works the Diuel in all the members and senses of his bodie, he being locallie within the same, suppose of his soule and affections thereof, he haue no more power than of any other mans. The last is, the speaking of fundrie languages, which the patient is knowen by them that were acquaint with him neuer to haue learned, and that with an vncouth and hollow voice; and all the time of his speaking, a greater motion being in his breast than in his mouth. But fra this last symptome is excepted such, as are altogether in the time of their possessing bereft of all their senses being possessed with a dumbe and blinde spirit, whereof Christ relieued one, in the twelfth of *Mathew*. And as to your next demand, it is first to be doubted if the *Papists* or any not professing the onely true Religion, can relieue any of that trouble. And next, in case they can, vpon what respects it is possible vnto them. As to the former, vpon two reasons it is grounded: first that it is knowen so many of them to be counterfeit, which wile the Clergie inuents for confirming of their rotten Religion. The next is, that by experience we finde that few, who are possessed indeed, are fully cured by them: but rather the Diuell is content to release the bodily hurting of them, for a short



short space, thereby to obtaine the perpetuall hurt of the soules of so many that by these false miracles may be induced or confirmed in the profession of that erroneous Religion: euen as I told you before that he doth in the false cures; or casting off of diseases by Witches. As to the other part of the argument in case they can, which rather (with reuerence of the learned thinking otherwaies) I am induced to beleeue, by reason of the faithfull report that men sound of religion, haue made according to their sight thereof, I think if so be, I say these may be the respects, whereupon the *Papistes* may haue that power: Christ gaue a commission and power to his Apostles to cast out Diuels, which they according thereunto put in execution: The rules he bad them obserue in that action, was fasting and praier: & the action it selfe to be done in his name. This power of theirs proceeded not then of anie vertue in them, but onely in him who directed them. As was clearly proued by *Judas* his hauing as great power in that commission, as any of the rest. It is easie then to be vnderstand that the casting out of Diuelles, is by the vertue of fasting and praier, and in-calling of the name of God, suppose many imperfections be in the person that is the instrument, as Christ himselfe teacheth vs of the power that false Prophets shall haue to cast out Diuels. It is no wonder then, these respects of this action being considered, that it may be possible to the *Papistes*, though erring in sundry pointes of Religion, to accomplish this, if they vse the right forme

## 72 *Dæmonologie. Third Booke.*

forme prescribed by Christ herein. For what the worse is that action that they erre in other things, more than their Baptisme is the worse that they erre in the other Sacrament, and haue eiked many vaine freittes to the Baptisme it selfe.

PHI. Surely it is no little wonder that GOD should permit the bodies of any of the faithfull to be so dishonoured, as to be a dwelling place to that vncleane spirit.

EPI. There is it which I told right now, would prooue and strengthen my argument of the diuels entring in the dead bodies of the faithfull. For if he is permitted to enter in their liuing bodies, euen when they are ioyned with the soule: how much more will God permit him to enter in their dead carions, which is no more man, but the filthie and corruptible caise of man. For as Christ saith, *It is not any thing that enters within man that defiles him, but only that which proceeds and commeth out of him.*

Mark. 7.

### CHAP. V. ARGV.

*The description of the fourth kinde of Spirits called the Phairie: What is possible therein, and what is but illusions. How far this Dialogue intreats of all these things, and to what end.*

PHILO MATHES.

**N**OW I pray you come on to that fourth kinde of spirits.

EPI. That fourth kinde of spirits, which by the Gentiles was called *Diana*, and her wandering court, and amongst vs was called the *Phairie* (as I told



told you) or our good neighbours, was one of the sorts of illusions that was rifest in the time of Papistry: for although it was holden odious to Prophecie by the diuell, yet whom these kinde of Spirits carried away, and informed, they were thought to be sonsiest and of best life. To speake of the many vaine trattles founded vpon that illusion: How there was a King and Queene of *Phairie*, of such a iolly court & train as they had, how they had a teynd, & duty, as it were, of all goods: how they naturally rode and went, eate and dranke, and did all other actions like naturall men and women: I think it liker *Virgils Campi Elysi*, nor any thing that ought to be beleueed by Christians, except in generall, that as I spake sundry times before, the diuell illuded the senses of sundry simple creatures, in making them beleue that they saw and heard such things as were nothing so indeed.

**P. H. I.** But how can it be then, that sundry Witches haue gone to death with that confession, that they have bene transported with the *Phairie* to such a hill, which opening, they went in, and there saw a faire Queene, who being now lighter, gaue them a stone that had sundry vertues, which at sundry times hath beene produced in iudgement?

**E. P. I.** I say that, euen as I said before of that imaginat rauishing of the spirite soorth of the body. For may not the diuell obiect to their fantasie, their senses being dilled, and as it were asleepe, such hilles & houses within them, such glistering courts and traines, and whatsoeuer such like wherewith he pleaseth to delude them. And in the meane

## 74 *Demonologie. Third Booke.*

time their bodies being senselesse, to conuay in their hand any stone or such like thing, which he makes them to imagine to haue receiued in such a place.

**PHI.** But what say ye to their fore-telling the death of sundry persons, whom they alleage to haue scene in these places? That is, a sooth-dreame (as they say) since they see it walking.

**EPI.** I thinke that either they haue not beene sharply inough examined, that gaue so blunt a reason for their Prophecie; or otherwaies, I thinke it likewise as possible that the Deuill may prophesie to them when he deceiues their iinaginationes in that sort, as well as when he plainly speakes vnto them at other times: for their prophesying is but by a kinde of vision, as it were, wherein he commonly counterfeites God among the Ethnicks, as I told you before.

**PHI.** I would know now whether these kinds of spirites may onely appeare to Witches, or if they may also appeare to any other.

**EPI.** They may do to both: to the innocent sort, either to affraie them, or to seeme to be a better sort of folkes nor vncleane spirites are; and to the Witches, to be a cullour of safety for them, that ignorant Magistrates may not punish them for it, as I told euen now. But as the one sort, for being perforce troubled with them ought to be pitied: so ought the other sort (who may be discerned by their taking vpon them to Prophecie by them,) that sort I say, ought as seuerely to be punished as any other Witches, and rather the more, that they



they goe dissemblingly to worke.

PHI. And what makes the spirites haue so different names from others?

EPI. Euen the knauery of that same deuill; who as hee illudes the *Necromancers* with innumerable feined names for him and his angels, as in special, making *Sathan*, *Beelzebub*, and *Lucifer*, to be three sundry spirits, where we finde the two former but diuers names giuen to the prince of all the rebelling angels by the Scripture. As by Christ, the Prince of all the Diuelles is called *Beelzebub* in that place, which I alleaged against the power of anie hereticques to cast out deuils. By *John* in the Reuelation, the old tempter is called *Sathan the Prince of all the euill angels*. And the last, to wit, *Lucifer*, is but by allegorie taken from *the day Starre* (so named in diuers places of the Scriptures) because of his excellencie (I meane the Prince of them) in his creation before his fall. Euen so I say he deceiues the Witches, by attributing to himselfe diuers names: as if euery diuers shape that he transformes himselfe in, were a diuers kind of spirit.

PHI. But I haue heard many moe strange tales of this *Phaerie*, nor ye haue yet told me.

EPI. As wel I do in that, as I did in all the rest of my discourse. For because the ground of this conference of ours, proceeded of your speering at me at our meeting, if there was such a thing as Witches or spirites; And if they had any power: I therefore haue framed my whole discours, only to proue that such things are and may be, by such number of examples as I shew to be possible by reason: & keepes

## 76 *Demonologie. Third Booke.*

me from dipping any further in playing the part of a Dictionary, to tell what euer I haue read or heard in that purpose, which both woulde excede faith, and rather woulde seeme to teach such vnlawfull artes, nor to disallow and condemne them, as it is the dutie of all Christians to doe.

### CHAP. VI. ARGV.

*Of the triall and punishment of Witches. What sort of accusation ought to be admitted against them. What is the cause of the increasing so farre of their number in this age.*

#### PHILOMATHES.

**T**HEN to make an ende of our conference, since I see it drawes late, what forme of punishment thinke yee merites these *Magicians* and *Witches*? For I see that yee account them to be alike guiltie.

**EPI.** They ought to be put to death according to the Law of God, the ciuill and imperiall Law, and municipall Law of all Christian nations.

**PHI.** But what kinde of death I pray you?

**EPI.** It is commonly vsed by fire, but that is an indifferent thing to be vsed in euery countrey, according to the Law or custome thereof.

**PHI.** But ought no sexe, age nor ranke to bee exempted?

**EPI.** None at al (being so vsed by the lawful magistrate) for it is the highest point of Idolatry, wherein no exception is admitted by the law of God.

**PHI.** Then bairnes may not be spared?

**EPI.** Yea, not a haire the lesse of my conclusion.

For



## *Dæmonologie. Third Booke. 77*

For they are not that capable of reason as to practise such thinges. And for any being in companie and not reueiling thereof, their lesse and ignorant age will no doubt excuse them.

**P. H. I.** I see yee condemne them all that are of the counsell of such craftes.

**E. P. I.** No doubt, for as I said, speaking of *Magie*, the consulters, trusters in, ouer-seers, interteiners or sturrers vp of these craftes-folke, are equally guiltie with themselues that are the practisers.

**P. H. I.** Whether may the Prince then, or supream Magistrate, spare or ouer-see any that are guilty of that craft, vpō some great respects knownen to him?

**E. P. I.** The Prince or Magistrate for further trials cause, may continue the punishing of them such a certaine space as he thinkes conuenient: But in the ende to spare the life, and not to strike when God bids strike, and so seuerely punish in so odious a fault and treason against God, it is not onely vn-lawfull, but doubtlesse no lesse sinne in that Magistrate, nor it was in *Samuels* sparing of *Agag*. And so comparable to the sinne of *Witch-craft* it selfe, as *Samuel* alleaged at that time. 1. Sam. 15.

**P. H. I.** Surely then, I thinke since this crime ought to be so seuerely punished, Iudges ought to beware to condemne any, but such as they are sure are guiltie, neither should the clattering report of a carling serue in so weightie a case.

**E. P. I.** Iudges ought indeede to beware whom they condemne: for it is as great a crime (as *Salomon* saith) *To condemne the innocent, as to let the guiltie escape free*; neither ought the report of anie Pro. 17.

## 78 *Demonologie. Third Booke.*

one infamous person, be admitted for a sufficient prooffe, which can stand of no lawe.

**P. H. I.** And what may a number then of guilty persons confessions, worke against one that is accuse d?

**E. P. I.** The Assise must serue for interpretour of our law in that respect. But in my opinion, since in a matter of treason against the Prince, barnes or wives, or neuer so diffamed persons, may of our law serue for sufficient witnesses and prooffes: I thinke surely that by a farre greater reason, such witnesses may be sufficient in matters of high treason against God: For who but witches can be prooues, and so witnesses of the doings of Witches.

**P. H. I.** Indeed, I trow they will be loath to put any honest man vpon their counsell. But what if they accuse folke to haue bene present at their Imaginar conventions in the spirite, when their bodies lies sencelesse, as yee haue said.

**E. P. I.** I thinke they are not a haire the lesse guilty: For the Diuell durst neuer haue borrowed their shadow or similitude to that turne, if their consent had not bene at it: And the consent in these turnes is death of the lawe.

**P. H. I.** Then *Samuel* was a Witch: For the Diuell resembled his shape, and played his person in giuing response to *Saul*.

**E. P. I.** *Samuel* was dead as well before that; and so none could slander him with meddling in that vnlawfull Art. For the cause why, as I take it, that God will not permit *Sathan* to vse the shapes of similitudes of any innocent persons at such vnlawfull times, is that God will not permit that any innocent



## *Demonologie. Third Booke. 79*

cent persons shall be slandered with that vile defec-  
tion: for then the diuel would finde waies anew, to  
calumniate the best. And this we haue in prooffe by  
them that are carried with the *Phaerie*, who neuer  
see the shaddowes of any in that Courte, but of  
them that thereafter are tried to haue beene bre-  
thren and sisters of that craft. And this was likewise  
prooued by the confessiō of a yong Lasse, troubled  
with spirites, laide on her by Witch-craft. That al-  
though she saw the shapes of diuers men and wo-  
men troubling her, and naming the persons whom  
these shaddowes represents: yet neuer one of them  
are found to be innocent, but all cleerely tried to be  
most guilty, & the most part of them confessing the  
same. And besides that, I think it hath bene seldome  
heard tell of, that any whom persons guilty of that  
crime accused, as hauing knowen them to be  
their marrowes by eie sight, and not by heare-say,  
but such as were so accused of Witch-craft & could  
not be clearely tryed vpon them, were at the least  
publickly knowne to be of a very euill life & repu-  
tation: so iealous is God I say, of the fame of them  
that are innocent in such causes. And besides that  
there are two other good helpes that may bee vsed  
for their triall: the one is the finding of their marke,  
and the trying the insensiblenes thereof. The other  
is their fleeting on the water. For as in a secret mur-  
ther, if the dead carkasse be at any time thereafter  
handled by the murtherer, it will gush out of blood,  
as if the blood were crying to the heauen for reuēge  
of the murtherer, God hauing appointed that se-  
cret supernaturall signe, for tryall of that secret

## 64. *Demonologie. Third Booke.*

unnaturall crime: so it appears that God hath appointed (for a supernaturall signe of the monstrous impiety of Witches) that the water shall refuse to receiue them in her bosome, that haue shaken off them the sacred Water of Baptisme, and wilfully refused the benefite thereof: No, not so much as their eies are able to shed teares (threaten and torture them as yee please) while first they repent (God not permitting them to dissemble their obstinacie in so horrible a crime) albeit the women kinde especially, be able other waies to shed teares at euery light occasion when they will, yea although it were dissemblingly like the *Crocodiles*.

**PHI.** Well, we haue made this conference to last as long as leisure would permit: And to conclude then, since I am to take my leaue of you, I pray God to putge this country of these diuellish practises: for they were neuer so rife in these parts as they are now.

**EPH.** I pray God that so be too. But the causes are ouer-manifest, that makes them to be so rife. For the great wickednes of the people on the one part, procures this horrible defection, whereby God iustly punisheth sinne, by a greater iniquity: And on the other part, the consumation of the world, and our deliuerance drawing neare, makes Sathan to rage the more in his instruments, knowing his kingdom to be so neare an end. And so far well for this time.





